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ABSTRACT

The homeland of the Ojibwe people was immense, stretching in a great curve from the northern reaches of the Great Plains to the southeastern shores of the Great Lakes, until European nations with overwhelming power and numbers swarmed across the land, reshaping it for themselves and destroying the natural balance within which the Ojibwe people had always lived. Ojibwe history includes the first meetings with Europeans (1620-50); trade, warfare and migrations (1650-80); the movement of the Ojibwe people from their homeland (1680-1720); war with the Fox Indians (1720-40) and war with the Dakota people (1740-80) as a result of Europeans migrating to the original homeland of the Ojibwe; and the Ojibwe people's participation in Europe's struggle for control of North America during the American Revolution. The Ojibwe settled down in Minnesota and Wisconsin, pushing onto the Great Plains during 1780-1825. Until 1900 the U.S. Indian policy can be divided into three periods: the time of treaty-making (1789-1870); the reservation period (1870-87); and the early part of the land-allotment period (began 1887). Map illustrations accentuate descriptions of the loss of Ojibwe land through treaties and allotment of reservations. (ERB)

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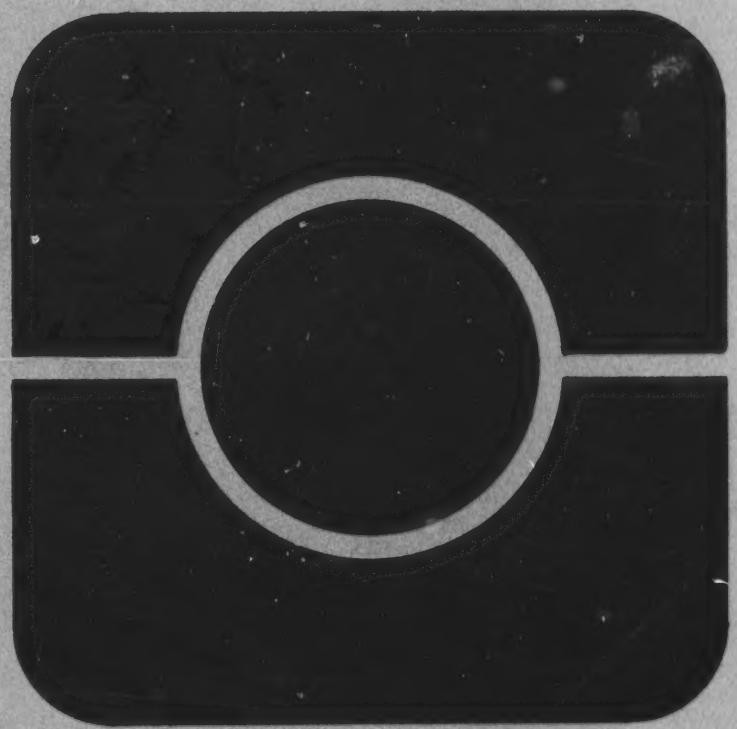

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THE LAND OF THE OJIBWE

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THE LAND OF THE OJIBWE

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THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

THE HISTORY OF THE ANISHINABE OR OJIBWE PEOPLE

The great fact of Anishinabe life is unity — the oneness of all things. In their view history is expressed in the way that life is lived each day and in the way that harmony with all created things has been achieved. The people cannot be separated from the land with its cycle of seasons or from the other mysterious cycles of living things — of birth and growth and death and new birth.

The People know from where they have come. The story is deep in the hearts and minds of men and women. It has been told in legends and dances, in dreams and in symbols. It is in the songs a grandmother sings to the child in her arms and in the web of family names, stories, and memories that the child learns as he grows older. This is a story of the spirit.

There is another story. This tells of how European nations with overwhelming power and numbers swarmed across the land, reshaping it for themselves and destroying the natural balance within which the Anishinabe people had always lived. It tells of trade and wars and treaties, of laws and governments, and above all of the long, stubborn struggle through which the Anishinabe tried to preserve their own ways and their own identity.

Most of this story of conquest was recorded by Europeans. When the facts are brought together from their books and documents and sifted out of their letters and diaries, the story seems to the Anishinabe like the story of another people. Those who wrote it down saw with the eyes of strangers. Sometimes Europeans wrote with the blindness of pride and power, sometimes with the guilt of those who know that they have used power unjustly. But the history gathered from their records is also that of the People, as they were seen by others and as they affected others.

It is important to know both histories — that of the spirit and that of strangers. The pages that follow describe the movement of the Ojibwe throughout the Western Great Lakes region and beyond, and the loss of their land through treaties and allotment of reservations. Finally, there is a statement of how the Ojibwe have endured through the twentieth century. It is hoped that in knowing the hard and often bitter choices made in the past, men and women may be better able to deal with the present and the future.

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THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE

In the language of the Ojibwe, "Anishinabe" means "one of the people." No one is certain of the meaning or origin of the name "Ojibwe," by which they are known to others. The word has been thought to refer to something puckered up — perhaps the style of moccasin worn by the people — but this is only one of several theories. Since European contact, many spellings of "Ojibwe" have occurred. Depending on how it sounded to the ears of French and English-speaking people, it has been written "Outchibou," "Otchipwe," "Ojibewa," "Ojibway," "Chippeway," or "Chippewa." The spelling "Ojibwe," which conforms to the international phonetic system, is used here.

THE ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

The Ojibwe are part of a large language group of Indian people known as the Algonquian "family." This is the most widespread though perhaps not the largest native language group in North America. Its members can be found from Newfoundland to the Rocky Mountains and from Hudson Bay to North Carolina. Among the many peoples who spoke Algonquian languages, in addition to the Ojibwe, were the Algonkin, the Cree, the Ottawa, the Potawatomi, the Menominee, the Sauk, the Fox, the Miami, the Delaware, the Shawnee, the Cheyenne, the Arapaho, and the Blackfeet. Other important language families living in the same general region as the Algonquian are the Iroquoian and the Siouan. Although this classification has been adopted by scholars in the study of Indian languages, it does not always mean that tribes of the same "family" were closely related or allied.

WHERE THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE ARE

MAP 1

Most of the Ojibwe people live on land their ancestors settled before the coming of Europeans. The homeland was immense, stretching in a great curve from the northern reaches of the plains to the southeastern shores of the Great Lakes. In Canada it extended from central Saskatchewan to southern Ontario, and in the United States it included the northeastern corner of North Dakota, northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, most of Michigan, and part of northern Ohio. The Ojibwe regarded their land as a gift from the Great Spirit to their people, and it belonged to everyone in the tribe. They lived upon it and loved it and resisted any who tried to drive them from it.

Map 1 shows the Ojibwe homeland. It is important to remember that much of it was shared with other tribes. The lines only serve to show where fairly large numbers of Ojibwe lived at one time or another. Within this wide expanse there are great differences in country and climate, and Ojibwe people adapted their ways of living to their surroundings. In modern times four main groups have been distinguished by location and adaptation to varying conditions. They are the plains Ojibwe, the northern Ojibwe, the southeastern Ojibwe, and the southwestern Ojibwe or Chippewa.

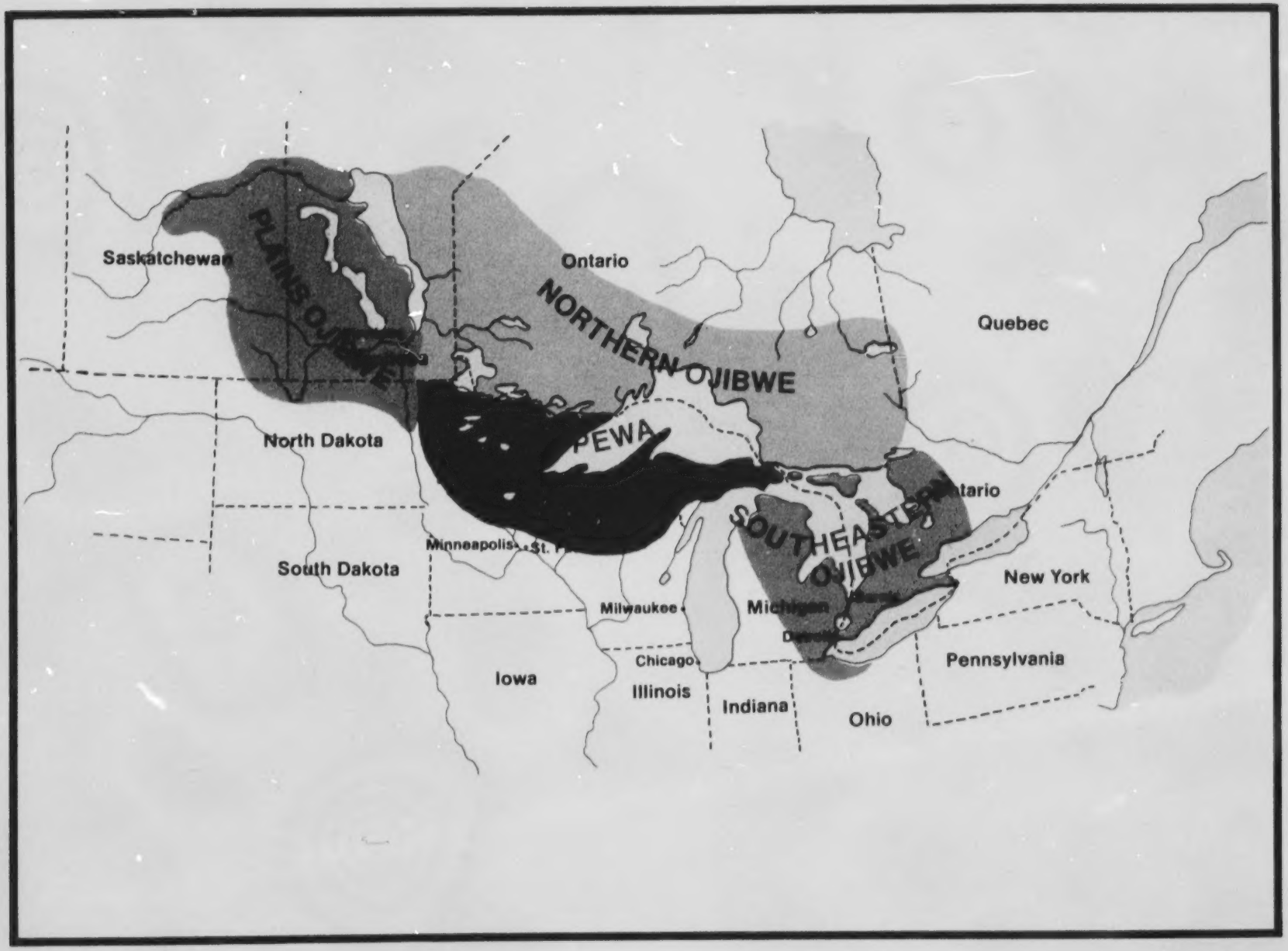
The plains Ojibwe live in Saskatchewan, western Manitoba, North Dakota, and Montana. Although they were originally a forest people, they changed their way of life when they moved into the open lands and borrowed many of the customs of other plains people. Today most of them work at farming and ranching. Many live in reservation communities, known in Canada as "reserves," and some have moved to the city of Winnipeg.

The northern Ojibwe live in the remote forest country between the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay. This is part of the rugged Laurentian Plateau or Canadian Shield — an area from which ancient glaciers scraped away the soil and left bare granite rocks and thousands of lakes. There from earliest times the Ojibwe have had to depend upon hunting for a living and have separated into small family communities or clans because the land could not support large groups living together. A few still make income by hunting and fur trapping. Some are now guides or work in the timber industry, and a number of northern Ontario reserves now have provincially chartered business corporations.

The southeastern Ojibwe often mingled with related peoples like the Ottawa and the Potawatomi, whose way of life they adopted when they moved southward from the upper Great Lakes many years ago. Some of these Ojibwe along with other Michigan and Ohio Indian people were removed by the United States government to Kansas. A few still live in the central part of Lower Michigan, but there are no organized Ojibwe communities in Ohio. Today the majority of the southeastern Ojibwe are in southern Ontario. There are reserves at Sarnia and around some of the shores and islands of Georgian Bay in Lake Huron.

In Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Upper Michigan, where the Ojibwe are generally called Chippewa, they traditionally lived by hunting, trapping, and fishing and by gathering wild rice and making maple sugar. Some still earn a part of their livelihood from these activities. The United States Chippewa form the largest group among the Ojibwe, and they have the most highly organized community and tribal life. Most of them live on reservations in northern Minnesota and Wisconsin or in the cities of Milwaukee, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth.

The stages by which the Ojibwe spread throughout these areas are shown in the maps that follow. Their movements were either voluntary or caused by economic pressures. In a few cases forced government removal uprooted groups and shifted them to more western areas.



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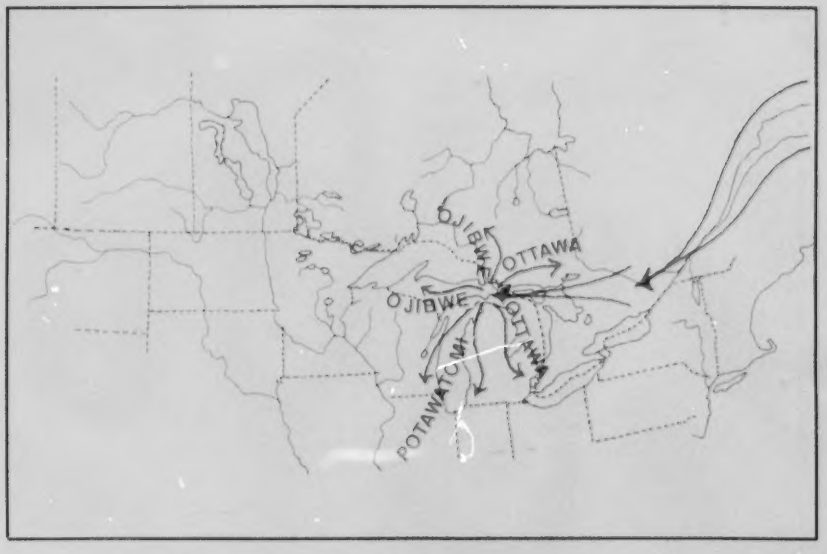
THE TRADITIONS OF THE PEOPLE

MAP 2



The oral traditions of the Ojibwe, the Potawatomi, and the Ottawa tell of a time when they were a single people. The Ojibwe say that they came from the northeast and originally lived by the sea. This might have been near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. When they reached what is now known as the Strait of Mackinac, where Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior almost come together, the three tribes separated. This tradition was written down by William W. Warren, an Ojibwe historian, in the 1850s. It was told to him by the elders of the tribe as their fathers had told it to them. It is illustrated by Map 2.

While the traditions of Indian people are often vague in details and difficult to interpret, much can be learned from them, and many other clues to history on the North American continent before the time of written records have been discovered through archaeology. We know, for example, that Indian people traveled on well-known routes and traded widely with each other. We also know that there had been contact and trade with Europeans for several hundred years before the coming of the "discoverers" that written history tells of. News of this trade along the eastern seacoast no doubt reached the Ojibwe many years before they actually had contact with white men; and the first European to come among them was almost certainly not one of those who wrote about them, but perhaps some unknown trader who pushed deep into the country in search of gain or adventure.

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FIRST MEETINGS WITH EUROPEANS, 1620-50

MAP 3

In the first half of the seventeenth century French explorers and missionaries entered the land of the Ojibwe and wrote down the earliest vague historical accounts. These men reported a community of Indian people living by the falls of the St. Mary's River ("Sault Ste. Marie" in French), through which the waters of Lake Superior pour into Lake Huron. Because the fishing was especially good there, families from several bands in the region gathered in a village. The French called them Saulteurs — or "People of the Falls."

The different bands from which these falls people came each had its favorite hunting and fishing spots and maple sugar groves and moved from place to place as the seasons and the activities associated with them changed. They were related to each other by kinship and marriage, and all spoke the same language, but the French, who were accustomed to nations with strong centralized governments, apparently did not realize that all these bands formed a single people. At first the French treated the bands as separate nations, and French writers called them by whatever name they gave themselves or others called them by — names like the Missisauga, or people of the large river mouth; the Noquet, or bear people; the Marameg, or catfish people; the Amikwa, or beaver people, and others.

Later, when the French discovered that there were close ties among these groups, they tried to classify them into tribes. In doing so, they may have created in their own minds organizations that never really existed before the coming of Europeans. The differences among Ottawa, Ojibwe, Algonkin, and Cree may have been more a gradual shading than sharp lines. For example, the Amikwa and Nipissing bands were said by some French writers to be Ottawa and by others to be Algonkin. In later years, however, they apparently considered themselves Ojibwe. Map 3 shows the general locations and names of these different groups as the French first reported them. Many of the names were so misinterpreted that it is impossible to know what the original Ojibwe word was.

Most of the bands visited Sault Ste. Marie from time to time in order to fish and meet their friends and relatives. So at last the French began to call them all Saulteurs. Because this spot was already a gathering place, it soon became a trading center also, where European goods were exchanged for furs.

Although we know little of what happened in these years of early French contact with the Indians of the upper Great Lakes, the bits and pieces of the story that we do have show the widely separated, loosely allied groups of Ojibwe drawing together and becoming more united as a people. They show the village at Sault Ste. Marie growing in size and becoming a meeting place and a center for shared religious ceremonies, while the leaders of the independent bands more often acted together in their dealings with the French and others. There was need of this unity, for great changes were already beginning.

TRADE, WARFARE, AND MIGRATIONS, 1650-80

MAP 4

Trade with the white man was bringing to Indian people new tools with new and faster ways of doing things. A steel ax, for example, chopped hours or even days off the tasks of building a house, making a canoe, or gathering firewood. A gun not only made hunting easier but saved the time needed to shape arrows and chip out arrowheads. So for very powerful and practical reasons Indians wanted certain European goods.

In exchange white men wanted fur. This led to more concentrated hunting and trapping than Indians had done before. Many other activities were soon crowded out. Skills like pottery making and basket weaving became less important, and the time saved from these tasks was given to gathering skins — the men in hunting, the women in cleaning and curing. Before long the traditional balance of Indian life was altered and whole bands were making a large part of their livelihood by exchanging fur for the white man's goods.

Trade rivalries among the French, the Dutch, and later the British led these nations to ally themselves with different Indian groups on the eastern seaboard. Each tribe needed new and wider hunting grounds as fur-bearing animals in demand by Europeans became scarce. The pressure for hunting territory led to wars among the tribes, and these were encouraged by their white allies. The effects, like waves upon a sea, reached far into the heart of North America.

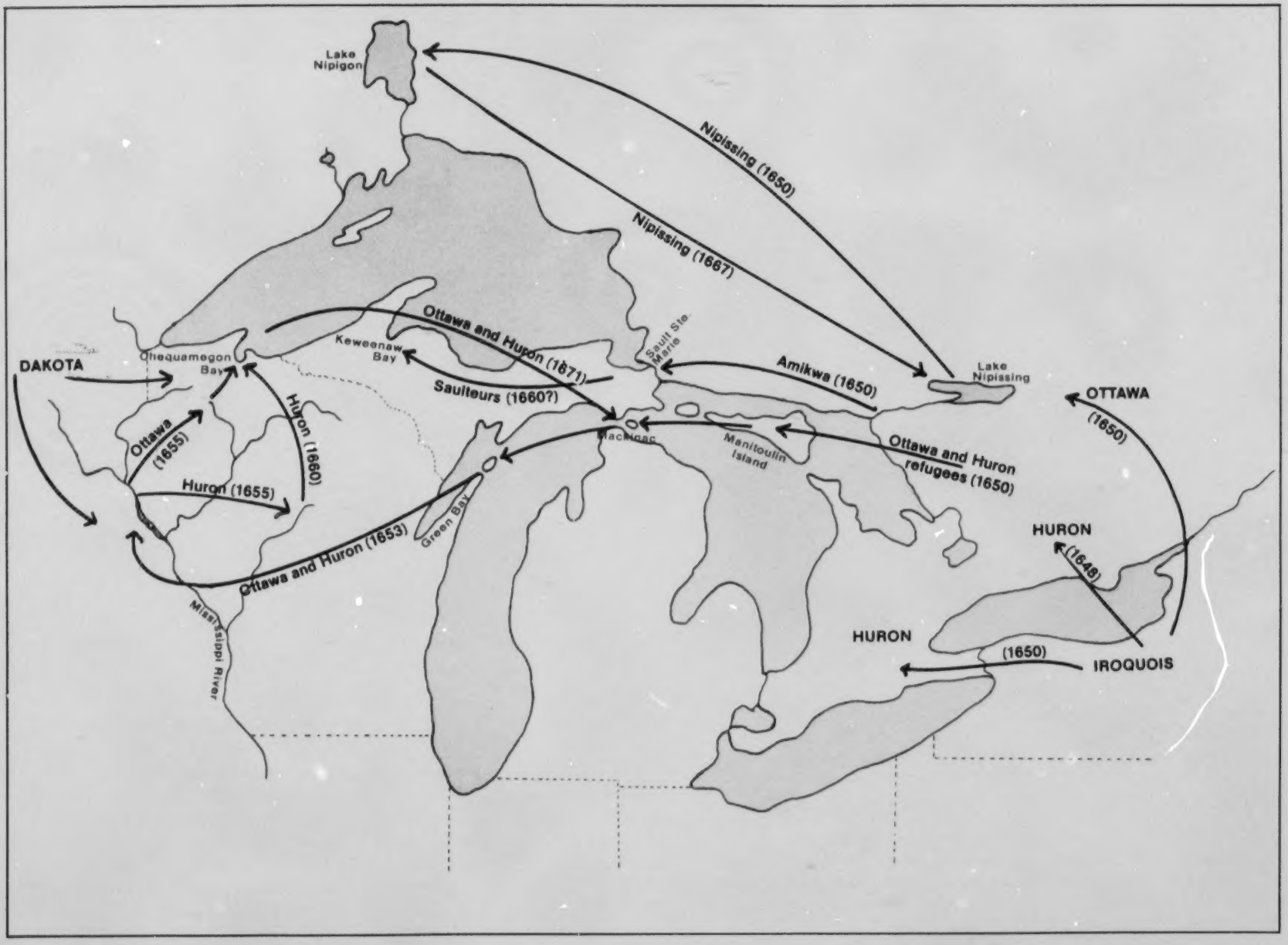
In 1648-50 the Iroquois, who traded with the Dutch and lived in what is now northern New York State, attacked the Huron who were their traditional enemies. This tribe was allied with the French and lived along the upper St. Lawrence River and north of Lake Ontario. The defeat of the Huron was complete, and the Iroquois then turned upon the Ottawa and other neighboring tribes.

In the years that followed, Ottawa refugees accompanied by a few Huron fled to Green Bay on the western shore of Lake Michigan. There they found others who had been driven westward by the Iroquois. Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, and Menominee, mostly from southern Michigan, were gathered in what is now Wisconsin. The Ottawa and Huron pushed on as far west as the Mississippi River, but within a short time they separated and both returned to central Wisconsin. Later they built villages together at Chequamegon Bay on the south shore of Lake Superior. After a few years, however, the Ottawa and Huron were forced to return eastward by the Dakota or Sioux tribe, who objected to this invasion of their territory.

Meanwhile, the easternmost bands of the Ojibwe, the Amikwa and Nipissing, were also attacked by the Iroquois. After an unsuccessful stand against their enemies, the outnumbered Nipissing fled far to the north and west. For more than fifteen years the band lived on the east shore of Lake Nipigon, between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay, sending fighting men south to help the rest of their people against the Iroquois. When peace returned in 1667, most of the Nipissing went back to their old homes.

The Amikwa along with the Missisauga joined their tribesmen at Sault Ste. Marie, and it was here that the conquering Iroquois met their first serious setback. About 1653 these Ojibwe people, armed with traditional stone clubs and arrows, destroyed an Iroquois war party that carried steel knives, tomahawks, and muskets. For a while the Ojibwe left their village at the falls and retreated along the south shore of Lake Superior, but in 1662 their united bands met another Iroquois force near Sault Ste. Marie and drove them from the country.

Most of the journeys and migrations described above are shown as arrows on Map 4. While these years of disaster, warfare, and change destroyed some tribes, they seem only to have strengthened the growing solidarity of the Ojibwe. After this time French writers seldom mention the separate bands. Small groups still hunted by themselves in the winter, but the custom of returning to large villages in the summer for safety, trade, and religious gatherings had become an accepted way of life.


Lake Nipigon
Nipissing (1650)
Nipissing (1667)
Ottawa and Huron (1671)
Keweenaw Bay
Sault Ste Marie
Amikwa (1650)
Lake Nipissing
DAKOTA
Chequamegon Bay
Saulteurs (1660?)
OTTAWA (1650)
Ottawa (1655)
Huron (1660)
Mackinac
Manitoulin Island
Ottawa and Huron refugees (1650)
Huron (1655)
Green Bay
HURON (1648)
Ottawa and Huron (1653)
Mississippi River
HURON (1650)
IROQUOIS

THE OJIBWE SPREAD WESTWARD, 1680-1720

MAP 5

The disruption of traditional ways, the movement of large groups of Indian people, and the ever-growing desire for European weapons and tools all increased the importance of trade in Indian life. To the west, tribes like the Dakota, the Assiniboin, and the Cree were eager to get more of the guns, knives, and other goods that made the neighboring tribes so powerful. For these things they were willing to pay a high price in furs. The French knew this, and they also were eager to trade.

In the spring of 1679 the French trader Daniel du Luth persuaded leaders of the Ojibwe at Sault Ste. Marie to attend a council with the Dakota at the far western end of Lake Superior. There an alliance was made between the Ojibwe and Dakota. The Dakota agreed to let the Ojibwe hunt upon the eastern fringes of their country in return for bringing to them French traders and French goods.

This arrangement lasted for more than fifty years. During this time the Ojibwe spread westward across northern Wisconsin along the shore of Lake Superior. They built a large village on Madeline Island at the mouth of Chequamegon Bay, where the French also established a fort and trading post (called La Pointe) in 1693.

In time this village replaced Sault Ste. Marie as a gathering place for the tribe, and at Chequamegon the Ojibwe seem to have found life better than ever before. Fur was plentiful; fishing was good among the nearby islands; large patches of corn and squash were cultivated in the fields around the town; and wild rice grew in the nearby lakes and streams. Trading also had never been better. In 1698 the French abandoned La Pointe and withdrew from all their far western posts. For the next twenty years the Dakota had no way to get trade goods except through the Ojibwe, who traveled east each year for new supplies.

Smaller towns grew up along the lake shore from Fond du Lac on the west to Keweenaw Bay on the east, and in the winter months hunting bands traveled deep into the Wisconsin woods to the south. But each summer people from the whole area and probably also from north of Lake Superior came to Chequamegon for the Midewiwin (Grand Medicine) ceremonies. These religious gatherings of the Ojibwe nation were held in a great lodge which is said to have stood in the village on Madeline Island.

THE OJIBWE SPREAD TO THE SOUTH AND EAST, 1680-1720

MAP 6

Meanwhile, as shown on Map 5, there was much the same sort of westward movement on the north side of Lake Superior. The bands that had lived there, joined by the Monsoni band of Indians from the Moose River country to the northeast, pushed toward the south and west. In 1683-84 Du Luth built a post (Fort La Tourette) at Lake Nipigon and another (Fort Kaministiquia) near present-day Thunder Bay, Ontario.

Here, also, the Ojibwe prospered as go-betweens in the trade between the French and the tribes farther to the west. These were mainly Cree and Assiniboin, both of whom were at war with the Dakota. The northern Ojibwe, especially the Monsoni, had strong ties with the Cree and took their side in the continuing war with the Dakota. Meanwhile, the Ojibwe from Chequamegon, who were still allies of the Dakota, sometimes joined in expeditions against these northern enemies. But for the most part the Ojibwe were neutral and could travel safely in the country between the warring tribes. This included the chain of lakes and streams that leads west from Lake Superior along what is now the international boundary. In time Ojibwe villages grew up at Grand Portage, Saganaga Lake, Rainy Lake, and elsewhere.

During the same years that many Ojibwe pushed westward around Lake Superior, other sections of the tribe were moving to the south as shown on Map 6. Although war continued with the Iroquois until 1700, the tide of conquest had turned, and Iroquois bands no longer threatened the people of the upper Great Lakes. To the south and east the lands where the Huron and Ottawa had formerly lived lay empty and inviting. Early in the 1700s the Missisauga Ojibwe saw their chance and moved in. After a few skirmishes with the Iroquois, the Missisauga made peace, and their people spread through what is now southern Ontario, between Lake Huron and Lake Erie.

These years also saw other Ojibwe moving from Sault Ste. Marie into the southern part of Michigan and the northwestern part of what is now Ohio. In 1698 wars and politics in Europe led the French to concentrate trading at a few large forts. One of these was Detroit. Many Indians — Ojibwe and Potawatomi along with the displaced Ottawa and Huron — gathered near that place in order to get the European goods that had by then become important to their way of life. Later they were joined by a part of the Fox and some of the Sauk tribe.

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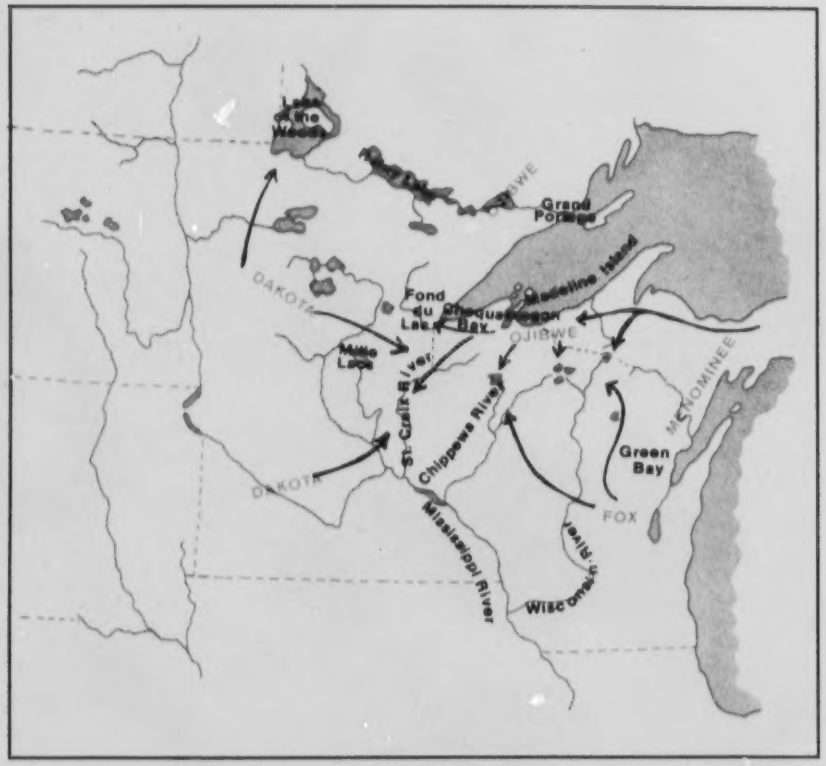
PEACE WITH THE DAKOTA — WAR WITH THE FOX, 1720-40

MAP 7



At Detroit in 1712 war started between the French and the Fox Indians — hostilities that were to continue off and on for more than twenty-five years and were to affect all of the upper Great Lakes country. Although the Fox were an Algonquian people and had not before been enemies of the Ojibwe, the two tribes were already at this time beginning to compete for hunting grounds in northern Wisconsin. Many of the Fox had remained near Green Bay, and for years they had hunted in the forested country around the headwaters of the Wisconsin and Chippewa rivers. Ojibwe hunters found themselves in the same area as they pressed south from their new settlements along the shore of western Lake Superior. So when the French urged their Indian allies to attack the Fox, the Ojibwe were quite willing.

Tradition tells of many raids by both sides and of at least one sharp naval battle that occurred when the Fox came in canoes down the Ontonagon River and attacked the Ojibwe villages on Lake Superior. The exact dates and places of these incidents are unknown, but most of them probably took place between 1715 and 1730. In 1730 the Fox were crushingly defeated by the French in a battle fought in central Illinois. Most of those who escaped joined the Sauk tribe, to whom they were closely related, and for a while both groups retreated into what is now Iowa. It must have been at about this time — early in the 1730s — that the Ojibwe began to hunt regularly on the upper Chippewa and Wisconsin rivers. Some years passed, however, before they built permanent villages there, for soon a new danger threatened from the west.

The Dakota had been friendly to the Fox, although they did not join them in making war on the French and Ojibwe. But in 1736 the long-established peace between the Ojibwe and the Dakota was shattered. French traders had by this time pushed northwest from Lake Superior as far as the Winnipeg River and had formed a solid friendship with the Cree and Assiniboin, bitter enemies of the Dakota. Hoping, perhaps, to check the supply of guns flowing to their foes, the Dakota slew a party of Frenchmen and Cree on an island in Lake of the Woods. The Ojibwe took this attack on their allies as a declaration of war, and though in a few years the Dakota made peace with the French, the enmity between Dakota and Ojibwe continued until the time when both tribes moved onto reservations.

Despite their fierce rivalry, however, each tribe continued to respect the other. The half century of peaceful exchange had left its marks: from the Dakota the western Ojibwe had learned to hunt the buffalo, and in return they had taught the eastern Dakota how to make birch bark canoes. The Dakota also borrowed from the Ojibwe some of the ceremonies of the Midewiwin. Especially in the St. Croix Valley the tribes had mingled, and there had been many marriages between them. Here the coming of war meant the painful tearing apart of families and whole villages, and always afterward the bands in this area made truce more often and kept it longer than elsewhere. Ties of blood reached even to the leadership of the two tribes. The first of the famous Dakota chiefs named Wabasha was half-brother to the noted Ojibwe chief Ma-mong-e-se-da, who led the people of Chequamegon for many years.

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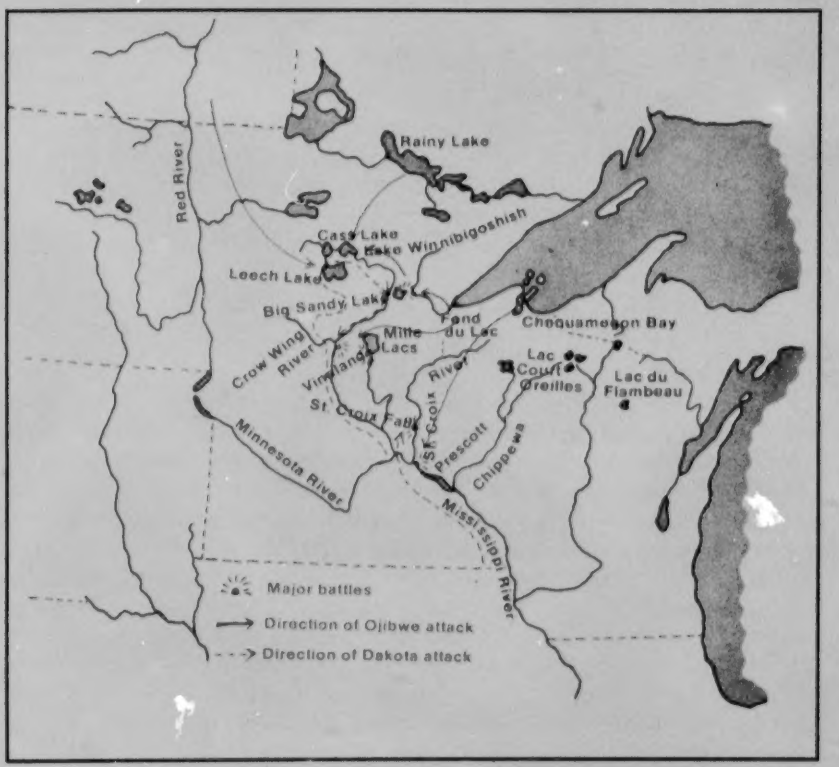
WAR WITH THE DAKOTA, 1740-80
MAP 8

In 1740 the Ojibwe-Dakota frontier stretched roughly in a curve from the Rainy River on the north to Fond du Lac at the western tip of Lake Superior, then down the St. Croix River, probably as far as present-day St. Croix Falls. From there it turned away eastward toward the lower falls of the Chippewa River (now Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin). During the next twenty years (1740-60) three decisive battles in which the Ojibwe defeated the Dakota pushed this frontier westward almost to the Mississippi River. The exact dates and the order in which these battles occurred is not known certainly, but tradition has preserved many details about them.

Probably the most important was fought on the southwestern shore of Mille Lacs Lake near present-day Vineland, where the Ojibwe drove the Dakota from a large village called Izatys or Isanti. This is said to have been the tribal center for the eastern or "Santee" Dakota (whose name comes from Isanti). They abandoned it only after a fierce three-day struggle, which is dated by most historians at about 1745 or 1750. Another battle took place near the mouth of the St. Croix River on the site of what is now Prescott, Wisconsin. There a Dakota village was destroyed in a surprise attack by a large force of Ojibwe from Chequamegon. These two victories made the pine forests of northern Wisconsin safe at last from enemy raids, and about this time or shortly afterward the first permanent Ojibwe villages were established at Lac Court Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau.

The third crucial battle of this period opened the way for the Ojibwe to move into the country around the sources of the Mississippi in northern Minnesota. It was fought on Big Sandy Lake at the western end of the Savanna Portage, which had been from earliest times the main route of travel from Lake Superior to the upper Mississippi. Here an Ojibwe force drawn from bands as far east as Sault Ste. Marie attacked a Dakota village and in the words of William Warren, "put out the fire" of that tribe on Big Sandy Lake. The leader of the expedition was Bi-aus-wah, a noted Ojibwe war chief whose father had been slain by the Fox and who lived in the village of Fond du Lac. Before long Bi-aus-wah took his people westward to light the Ojibwe council fires at Big Sandy Lake. This new settlement and the rich hunting grounds around it drew Ojibwe from both the northern and southern shores of Lake Superior.

The Dakota people living at Lake Winnibigoshish, at Cass Lake, and at Leech Lake soon found themselves pressed upon by their enemies from three directions. Ojibwe came north up the Mississippi from Big



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Sandy Lake and south from Rainy Lake. From the west came Cree and Assiniboin along with a few Ojibwe who had already moved as far as the Red River. At some time, probably in the 1760s, the Dakota abandoned their last stronghold on the islands of Leech Lake. The bands that had lived there, who were probably those known as the Sisseton, withdrew to the headwaters of the Red and Minnesota rivers, the area where the three states of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota now meet.

The Dakota might have resisted their enemies longer, but they were influenced to move for other reasons as well. By the mid-1700s horses were becoming plentiful on the northern plains and were transforming the life style of the people there. Already western bands of Dakota had taken to the free, proud life of mounted buffalo hunters, following the great herds that roamed across the grasslands. Some of the eastern Dakota joined them. Many, however, remained in the Minnesota and Mississippi river valleys, and their raids still made the lakes of the upper Mississippi unsafe for the Ojibwe.

After a time hardy people from different Ojibwe bands formed several settlements in the Leech Lake area. There are many stories as to just when and how these people came to be called the Pillager band, but there is no doubt that they were known for their warlike behavior and bravery. They had need of such qualities, for the eastern Dakota made several determined efforts to regain at least part of their country. On one expedition, probably in the 1770s, they raided the Ojibwe villages around Leech Lake and Cass Lake and at Sandy Lake but were defeated by a force of Ojibwe who ambushed them at the mouth of the Crow Wing River as they paddled down the Mississippi.

About 1780 or a few years later, the Dakota joined with the Sauk and Fox, who were by then settled in southwestern Wisconsin, and together they tried once more to drive the Ojibwe from the valleys of the Chippewa and St. Croix rivers. They were met at St. Croix Falls by some three hundred Ojibwe under Chief Waub-o-jeeg of the Chequamegon band and were decisively — and finally — defeated.

THE OJIBWE IN THE EUROPEAN STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF NORTH AMERICA, 1754-83

While the western Ojibwe were successfully pushing into northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, their tribesmen farther east were deeply involved in events that would shape the future for all Indian people. In 1754 war commenced between France and England over control of the country between Lake Erie and the upper Ohio River, which was claimed by both nations. The French had built a line of forts there, the most important of which was at the head of the Ohio where the city of Pittsburgh now stands. After much prodding from people in the colonies, the English government sent an army under General Edward Braddock to capture this place, which the French called Fort Duquesne.

The population of the English colonies was greater than that of the French, and the support they received from their home government was more effective. Although France laid claim to an enormous territory — from the St. Lawrence River west to the Rocky Mountains and south along the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico — it did not actually control the country. France's only real power over the land came through the friendship of the Indian people who lived on it and their desire for French trade goods. Therefore in a struggle with the English, the French relied on their Indian allies for help.

Not all of these were eager to fight for the French. Some tribes in southern Michigan and in the Ohio Valley had wanted to trade with the English, who could offer better and cheaper goods than those made in France. But the French had tried to prevent this. Other groups simply preferred to stay neutral, hoping, perhaps, that the French and English might destroy each other.

In this doubtful situation, the tribes of the upper Great Lakes played a crucial part. They saw several sound reasons for helping the French. Not only had the French introduced a new way of life based on trade; there were also great differences in the attitudes of French and English toward the land. English settlers, coming in ever-increasing numbers, brought their families, built houses, and cleared away forests for farms. Already many Indian people in the English colonies had been ruthlessly driven from their homes. Although the French were arrogant and meddlesome, they came to the western regions for fur, not land. While there, some Frenchmen married Indian women, and their children were likely to look on the land as their home and on their mother's people as their own.

One such man was an Ottawa-French trader named Charles Langlade, from Green Bay, Wisconsin. He was a fiery leader and skilled soldier. Summoning a band of volunteers from among the Ottawa, Huron, Potawatomi, Menominee, and Ojibwe, he hurried south to aid in the defense of Fort Duquesne. The story has often been told of how Braddock's army, marching through the forest in red-coated rows, was surprised and badly beaten by hidden enemies. Credit for the victory belongs largely to Langlade and his force of northern tribesmen.

Of all the Indian nations, none was more loyal to its allies than the Ojibwe. Although others went over to the English side when it seemed that the French were losing, the Ojibwe fought under Langlade in most of the major battles, and even when the climax of the war came on the plains before the city of Quebec, they stood firmly beside the French. Hearing of the desperate crisis, Ma-mong-e-se-da, head of the Chequamegon Ojibwe, gathered together a fighting force from the villages at the western end of Lake Superior and led them east to aid the French commander, the Marquis de Montcalm.

Quebec fell in 1759, and the French colonists surrendered to the British in 1760. England immediately sent troops to take over all posts in the Great Lakes country, but the tribes living there continued fighting for another four years. In 1763, following the example of the Ottawa who were led by O-bwan-diag (Pontiac), they made surprise attacks on all the forts from Pittsburgh to Mackinac, capturing most of them. The Ojibwe took Mackinac, and a combined army of Ottawa, Potawatomi, Ojibwe, Huron, and Miami under O-bwan-diag besieged Detroit for nearly a year. Settlers who had taken Indian land along the Pennsylvania and Virginia borders were fiercely attacked.

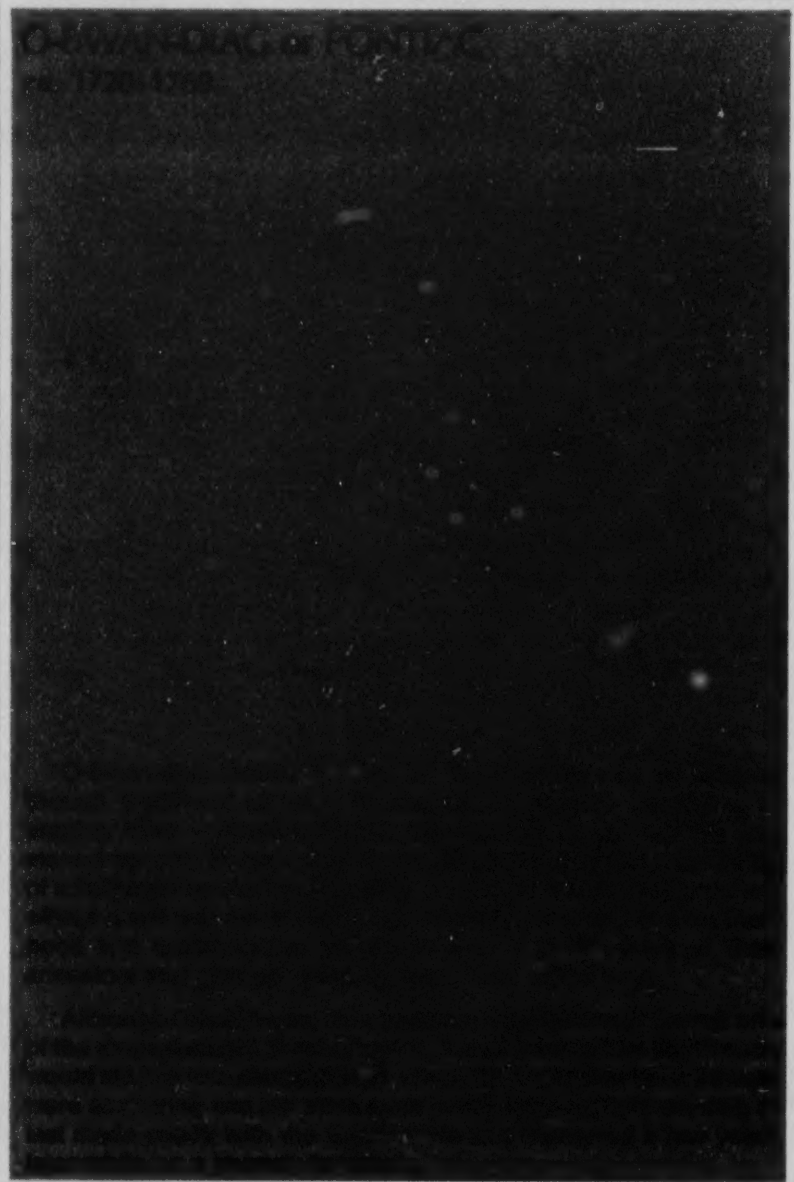
In the long run, however, the tribes could not win. Without the French they had no way to get guns and ammunition, and after years of warfare the lack of these and of other European goods was bringing hunger and hardship to people throughout the country. The balance in which Indian people of the eastern Great Lakes region had lived was broken. Although O-bwan-diag urged his followers to live as their ancestors had and not depend on trade with white men, most of them found it hard to listen to his arguments when their families were starving.

Nevertheless, something had already been accomplished. In 1763, after hearing of the setbacks his soldiers had suffered in the Great Lakes region, King George issued a proclamation laying down policy for the general government of his North American colonies. Included in it was the rule that all negotiations with Indian people concerning land were to be carried on in open council by representatives of the tribes and the British Crown. Neither individual citizens nor colonial governments could buy Indian land. Moreover, a boundary was fixed along the crest of the Appalachian mountain chain. White settlers were not to go beyond it. This was the first legal recognition of a limit to European encroachment on Indian land.

At the very time the last of the Great Lakes leaders like Ma-mong-e-se-da traveled east and reluctantly made peace with England, serious disagreements were arising between the English colonists and their own king. Although the Ojibwe played little part in the events of the American Revolution (1776-83), the eastern bands, like most other Indian people, could clearly see that their own interests now lay with England.

The colonists wanted land above everything else. They saw the forests and prairies of North America as a place to build a new country of farms and cities for themselves and their children, and they bitterly resented the western limits forced upon them by the Proclamation of 1763. In distant England the interests of the great fur-trading companies, the costs of warfare with Indian people, and the promises that had been made to those people were considered more seriously. Indians reasoned that they were more likely to receive justice from the king of England than from the land-hungry settlers of the new republic.

The colonists won, and when the treaty of peace was signed between England and the United States in 1783, the lands of the Ojibwe were divided between the two countries. At the time, however, this made little difference to those members of the tribe who lived in the north and west, because England kept control of the Great Lakes region and continued to hold it for another thirty years.



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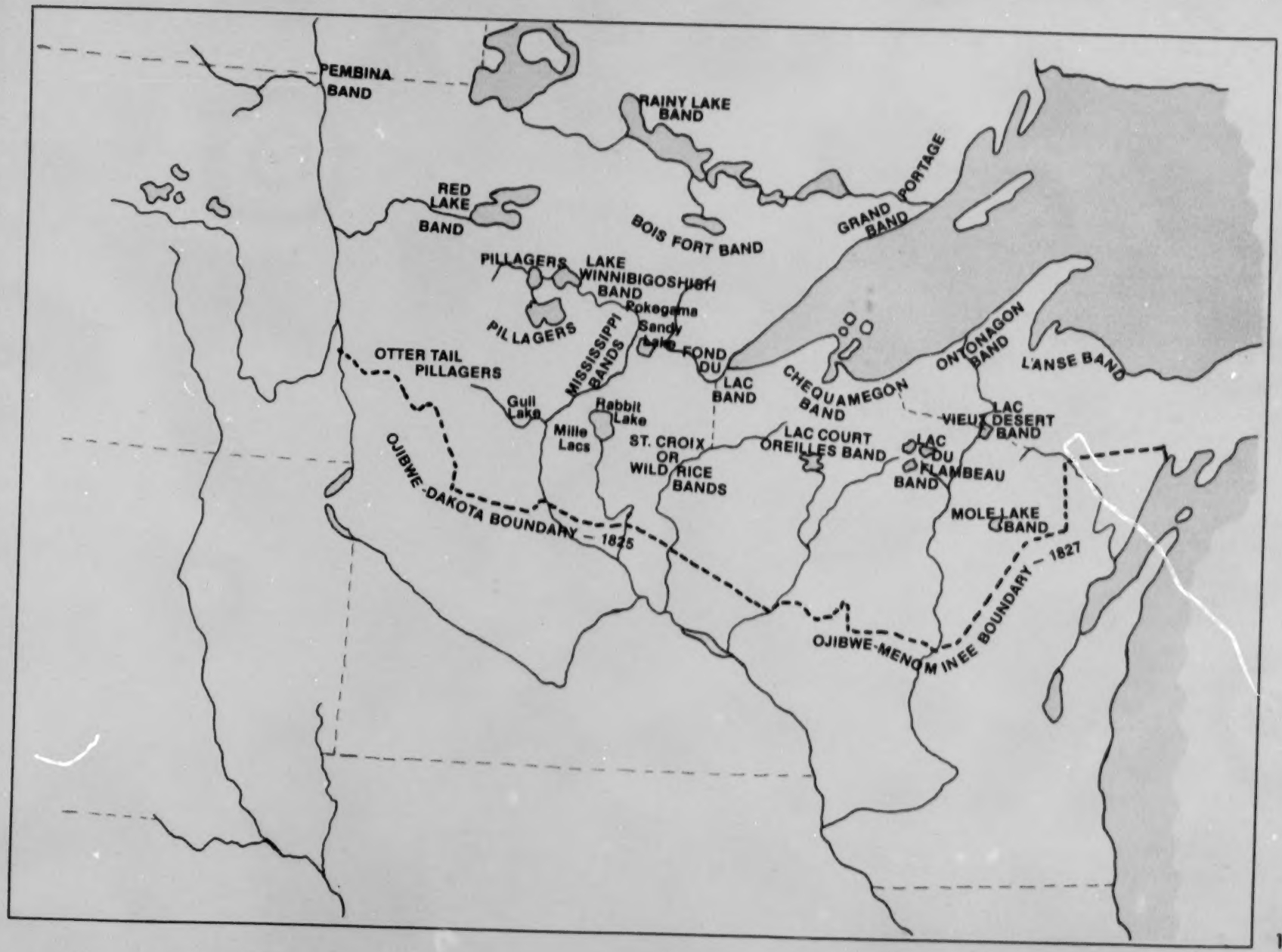
THE OJIBWE BECOME ESTABLISHED IN MINNESOTA AND WISCONSIN, 1780-1825

MAP 9

By 1780 a more or less permanent frontier had been established between the Dakota and the western bands of Ojibwe. Ojibwe people from south of Lake Superior had mingled with those from north of the lake in the dense pine and aspen forests, the lakes and marshes of northeastern Minnesota. The Dakota had withdrawn onto the prairies to the west and south. The broad belt of open hardwood forest that lay between was a sort of no-man's land or buffer zone where both tribes hunted and often met, either in war or peace. This debated region stretched from the plains of the Red River Valley on the west to the lower Chippewa River Valley of Wisconsin on the east. North of it permanent Ojibwe villages were being established, and bands began to take their names from the areas in which they lived. The most important of these groups are shown on Map 9.

In 1825 the United States government called a meeting of all the upper Mississippi tribes at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and a treaty was drawn up that, among other things, defined boundaries. The line between the Ojibwe and the Dakota was agreed upon by the two tribes then but not marked until ten years later. The boundary between the Ojibwe and the Menominee of eastern Wisconsin was fixed at a second council in 1827. Thus the southern limits of Ojibwe lands in the western Great Lakes area and on the Mississippi were officially set and could be marked upon white men's maps.


PEMBINA BAND
RAINY LAKE BAND
RED LAKE BAND
BOIS FORT BAND
GRAND PORTAGE BAND
PILLAGERS
LAKE WINNIBIGOSHISH BAND
Pokegama
Sandy Lake
PILLAGERS
MISSISSIPPI BANDS
OTTER TAIL PILLAGERS
FOND DU LAC BAND
CHEQUAMEGON BAND
ONTONAGON BAND
L'ANSE BAND
LAC VIEUX DESERT BAND
Gull Lake
Rabbit Lake
Mille Lacs
ST. CROIX OR WILD RICE BANDS
LAC COURT OREILLES BAND
LAC DU FLAMBEAU BAND
MOLE LAKE BAND
OJIBWE-DAKOTA BOUNDARY – 1825
OJIBWE-MENOMINEE BOUNDARY – 1827

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OJIBWE PUSH ONTO THE GREAT PLAINS, 1780-1825

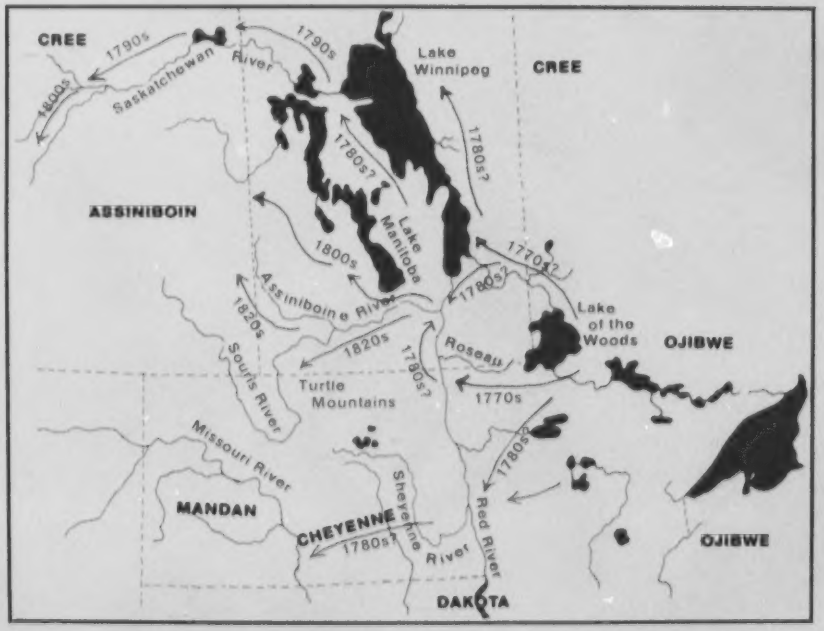
MAP 10

Most of the Ojibwe whose fathers had moved westward from Sault Ste. Marie in the century between 1680 and 1780 were content to stay among the lakes and forests of northern Wisconsin and Minnesota. As early as the 1770s, however, a few moved out onto the open flatlands of the Red River Valley and hunted buffalo in company with their allies, the plains-dwelling Assiniboin.

At some unknown time, perhaps in the 1780s, they spread northward. There are several possible reasons. The Assiniboin are said by some writers to have invited them, hoping that the Ojibwe would settle between them and their enemies, the Dakota. In 1781-82 a terrible smallpox epidemic had swept away whole bands of the Assiniboin and Cree. With their numbers reduced, these tribes may have wanted protection — or it may simply have been that the Ojibwe moved into lands that the smallpox plague had left unoccupied. Whatever the reason, by 1790 groups of Ojibwe were making their homes around the site of present-day Winnipeg and near the mouth of the Red River.

Meanwhile to the north other Ojibwe from Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods had followed the Winnipeg River, Lake Winnipeg, and the connecting chain of lakes and streams far into what is now central Saskatchewan. By 1794 a few venturesome families of Ojibwe were trapping furs as far west as the forks of the Saskatchewan River. In making this great half circle they seem to have kept to wooded country, staying north of the line where the boreal forest meets the open plains. By the early 1800s these Ojibwe, still keeping within easy reach of wooded country, had pushed west and north of Lake Manitoba and down the south fork of the Saskatchewan River toward present-day Saskatoon.

The lingering distrust that many Ojibwe felt for empty horizons was well put by a man of the Red Lake band in describing an early expedition made by his people against a Cheyenne village in North Dakota. He told how "we marched from one piece of woods to another, mostly in the night, until we came to the last great grove that was near to the village." Not until the 1820s, apparently, did Ojibwe people from the Red River Valley move west along the Assiniboine and Souris rivers into the wide grasslands of North Dakota and southern Saskatchewan. Some settled in the wooded Turtle Mountain area around 1820, where they joined other Ojibwe who had come up the Pembina River.



When living in a plains area, Ojibwe people naturally adopted a plains way of life. Like their neighbors, they became horsemen and moved their villages often. In time they learned the sun dance, placed their pointed tipis in a circle, and told their children tales of how the Ojibwe hero-spirit Winabojo followed great herds of buffalo across the grasslands.

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TECUMSEH, THE SHAWNEE PROPHET, AND THE WAR OF 1812

Already, as the western vanguard of the Ojibwe pushed onto the plains, their brethren to the southeast were being forced from their homes in the Ohio Valley. The land hunger of the new nation of European colonists confirmed the worst fears of the native American tribes. In the 1780s settlers began to push over the Appalachian Mountains and down the Ohio River. With or without the ceremony of treaty-making, they took the land. The Algonquian peoples who lived there, including some of the southeastern Ojibwe, once more went to war to protect their homeland. In 1794 they were defeated and were forced to give up to the white men most of present-day Ohio and part of southern Indiana. It was clear that more would soon be taken.

Some ten years later, however, the appearance of a new leader brought hope back to the despairing peoples of the Ohio Valley. He was a Shawnee named Tecumseh, who tried to form a great alliance among the American tribes to oppose the European invaders. His brother, Tenkswatawa (the Open Door), was a prophet or holy man who, like the Delaware prophet fifty years earlier, urged the people to return to the ways of their forefathers.

In early summer of the year 1808 inspired messengers visited the bands of western Ojibwe, bringing tidings of the new prophet and his visions of the future. They spoke with words of great power, telling the Ojibwe to cleanse themselves of the evil ways brought by white men and of their own wrongdoings. They urged them to turn their backs on tricksters and conjurers, who, they said, had used the sacred Midewiwin to gain power and had sown among the people suspicion and fear of each other. They talked of unity and brotherhood. Before moving on, they kindled a fire by the ancient method of rubbing two sticks together and left it burning in each village as a holy flame.

Behind them the messengers of the prophet also left great excitement. At Lac Court Oreilles those who had listened emptied the storehouse of the trader who lived among them and drove him away from the town. At Chequamegon the shores of Lake Superior are said to have been littered with blankets, mirrors, and other trade goods, as well as with medicine bags cast into the water by Ojibwe obeying the commands of the prophet. Young men who would in later years become the most respected leaders of the nation were among those who spoke out strongly for the new visions. People as far away as the plains beyond the Red River talked with joy and hope of the new age that would soon come.

After several seasons, word arrived that the prophet and his followers had been defeated on the Wabash River in Indiana. The battle was fought in 1811, while Tecumseh, the war leader, was away on a journey, trying without success to get the southern tribes to join him. In the face of defeat and division still another possibility appeared. In 1812 war again broke out between England and the United States, and Tecumseh led his people into an alliance with the British. As with O-bwan-diag and the French, it was a choice of the lesser evil.

At Chequamegon great numbers of the Ojibwe gathered as they had done in earlier days, but instead of the old Midewiwin ceremonies, they performed the new rites of the prophet. Then an expedition of 150 canoes started for Detroit to aid Tecumseh and to witness the wonderful things that the prophet was reported to say and do. Before they reached Sault Ste. Marie they met other Ojibwe returning from the south. Some had endured hunger and hardship there, and they advised their brothers not to go. The prophet, they said, in gloomy discouragement, could perform no miracles. Doubt and fear crept through the multitude. Perhaps they were deceived, or the right time had not yet come. A trader heading for Chequamegon with his winter supply of goods added his voice to those urging them to turn back, and the expedition slowly dissolved.

Nevertheless, many Ojibwe fought against the colonists. Some were at the battle of the Thames River in southern Ontario, when the British and Indian forces were defeated and Tecumseh was slain. With his death in 1813 the vision of a great union of native American peoples

faded. The disappointed followers of the prophet drifted away from his teachings, but one lasting benefit remained to the Ojibwe. The challenge of the new doctrines had brought about reforms in the Midewiwin. Membership was tightened to keep out the self-seeking and unworthy, and the great religious brotherhood of the Ojibwe was strengthened as a result.

The British had welcomed Indian allies and had said much about eternal friendship and loyalty. Yet when peace negotiations were finished in the European city of Ghent in 1814, the border between British and United States territory remained where it had been before. Nothing was said about the rights of the tribes, and the native Americans from south of the border who had supported the British were left to make the best terms they could with the United States. A few moved to British territory and never returned, but most of them remained in the land of their ancestors, facing a dark future of conquest and disinheritance.

ST. LOUIS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HOW THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA DEALT WITH NATIVE AMERICANS, 1763-1900

Until the War of 1812 ended, the Ojibwe, like most other tribes of the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley, held a certain strategic advantage in their dealings with white men. As long as Europeans were fighting among each other for control of North America, Indian people were in a position to bargain and exert pressure. After 1819, however, the Ojibwe found themselves increasingly at the mercy of the British and American governments between whose jurisdictions their land was divided.

The policies of the two countries toward American Indian people seem at first glance to have been quite different, but the ultimate aim of both governments was to secure for white men the wealth of the land and to insure the greatest possible exploitation of its resources. At first Indian people were to be pushed out of the way, and when that no longer seemed practical they were to be assimilated into the white man's world as quickly, cheaply, and painlessly (for white men) as possible. Most Europeans, both in the United States and Canada, have regarded native Americans as racially and culturally inferior. They have felt that Indians as a separate group would soon disappear and had few rights which must be respected. The attitudes of the citizens have been reflected in the policies of their governments.

In Canada, however, the land was less inviting and European settlement came more slowly than in the United States. In the meantime the fur trade remained the only industry of northern and western Canada. Indian hunters and trappers were needed to supply furs, and Indian people successfully adapted their traditional life to this. Not until 1867 was the country we now know as the Dominion of Canada formed by the union of four provinces under a single government. Before that time British North America was a collection of separate colonies, each governed more or less directly from England, and the English government felt less inclined to push rapid economic development in North America than did the colonists who lived there. For Indian people this was an advantage in many ways.

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HOW THE LAND WAS TAKEN

The Indian policies of both governments had roots in the British approach that had taken shape through trial and error during the years before the American Revolution. This approach rested on four main points:

1.) Establishment of a fixed boundary between Indian and white lands.

2.) Purchase of Indian land only through treaties made by the central government.

3.) Government regulation of all trade with Indian people.

4.) A special government official (or department) to handle all political and diplomatic relations with Indian tribes.

These points were established in the Proclamation of 1763. Underlying them was the basic legal assumption that Indian peoples had a valid right of property in the land they occupied.

After the Revolution the new American nation quickly found that unless it set up rules to control the greed and aggression of its own states and citizens it would be involved in constant warfare with Indian people. This it could not afford. So in 1786 Congress passed an "Ordinance for the Regulation of Indian Affairs" by which it adopted much the same principles that the British had found workable. Responsibility for relations with the tribes was given to the secretary of war, who was to appoint regional superintendents. Among their duties were licensing and supervision of all traders. By this and other legislation Congress also reserved to itself the fixing of boundaries and purchase of lands. Later laws strengthened and expanded the application of the ordinance, and its principles guided United States Indian policy for a century.

Until 1900 that policy can be roughly divided into three periods: the time of treaty-making (1789-1870); the reservation period (1870-87); and the early part of the land-allotment period (began 1887). The treaty-making period — roughly from the signing of the Constitution to the end of the Civil War — can be divided again at the year 1830. It was then that Congress adopted a policy of forcing all Indian people to move away from areas of white settlement in the eastern part of the country and relocating them west of the Mississippi River. This was called "removal," and it was practiced until the 1850s. By that time it had already become clear that white settlement would not stop at the Mississippi, and that much of the land west of that river held valuable resources. Gradually in the next decades a shift was made to a policy of concentrating Indian people in a few large reservation areas, and in 1871 the practice of making agreements with Indian tribes or bands as though they were independent foreign nations was quietly abandoned. So ended the treaty period.

The 1870s and 1880s saw the expansion of white settlement and private land ownership across the whole continent and the last desperate stand of the plains tribes for their freedom and the right to their own way of life. United States policy at the beginning of the period was aimed at confining all Indian people within large reservations where they could be isolated from white society and dealt with only by government agents. By the end of the 1880s this prison-camp approach had been partly abandoned for several reasons. Local traders, missionaries, and others whose livelihood depended on dealings with Indians opposed it; those who still coveted lands on the reservations opposed it; Indian people themselves resisted it; and, finally, there was a growing movement among reform-minded Americans toward a policy of "civilizing" the Indian by simply treating him as though he were a white man.

Instead of reserving lands for each tribe, these reformers proposed to give each Indian family enough land for a farm or small ranch. Private ownership of land, they argued, would do more than anything else to hurry Indian people toward abandoning their own ways and

becoming more like Europeans. They could then be treated like any other nationality group and in time would become full citizens of the United States. The intentions of the reformers were benevolent, though short-sighted.

Others who favored a policy of individual land ownership — or allotment, as it was called — had more selfish reasons. They felt that if each Indian were given land he would be able to support himself, and the government would be relieved of expense. Many also knew that there was more land within existing reservations than would be needed for allotment, and they urged that this "surplus" land be sold to white men. All of the white groups advocating this policy overlooked the fact that the traditional life of most Indian people was based upon common ownership, sharing of resources, and community enterprise, and that they had neither the desire nor the experience to manage land for personal gain.

The combination of forces brought about passage of the Dawes Allotment Act in 1887 and the dreary forty-seven-year period of land distribution and government trusteeship. Although the law contained provisions designed to safeguard Indian people from the greed of white men, it became clear within a few years that the safeguards had failed. During the allotment period the best two-thirds of the land originally reserved for Indians passed into white ownership. Meanwhile, there was a concentrated effort to destroy Indian religion, culture, and tribal organization in the name of "education" and "civilization." Indian institutions were gradually replaced by a vast federal bureaucracy which managed the affairs of Indian people who were judged "incompetent" to protect themselves.

In Canada the timetable was different, and there were fewer sudden changes in government policy. Until 1867 the separate provinces continued in a general way to follow the pattern developed by the British before the American Revolution. Land purchase treaties were signed, payments were made to the tribes, and boundaries were drawn. Because the white population increased slowly and there was plenty of land, no plan for Indian removal was ever adopted, although there were attempts to encourage Indian people to move voluntarily to certain areas.

In the 1870s, immediately after confederation of the provinces under a single government, the territories west of Lake Superior were attached to the new dominion. New provinces were quickly organized there, and settlement pushed westward with a sudden thrust. It was in 1871, just as the treaty period was ending in the United States, that the Dominion government of Canada signed its first Indian treaty.

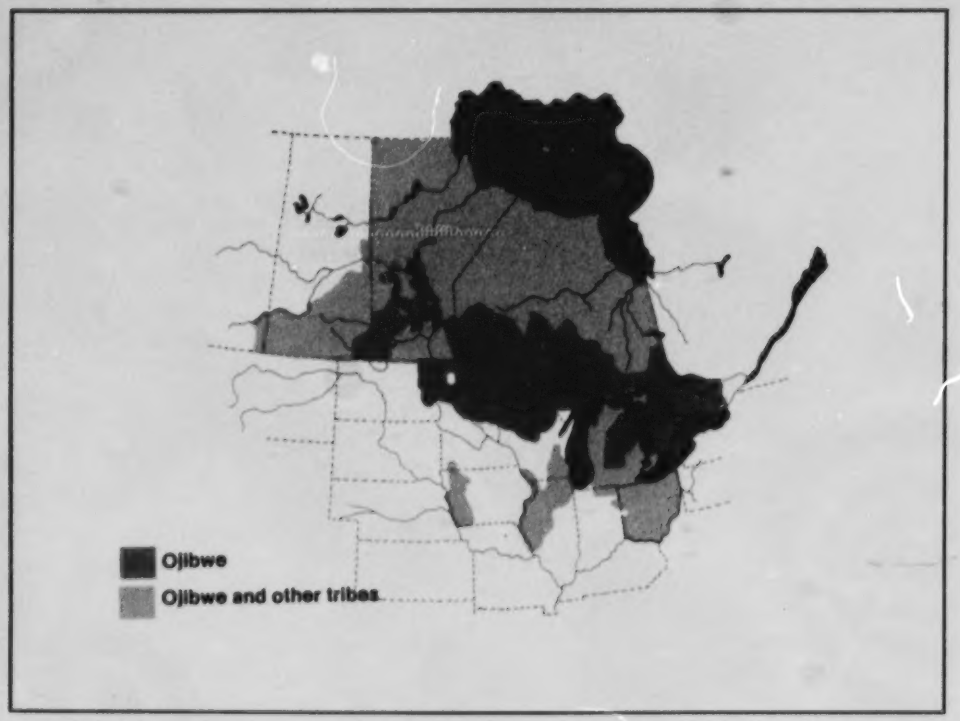
This agreement, made with Ojibwe and Cree people of the Red River Valley, was different from earlier United States treaties, however. Canada did not pretend that Indian people were being paid the value of the land taken. The bands received only enough land to give each family a farm. A small annuity was guaranteed to each person, and a school was promised for each reserve. The reserves were not concentrated in a single area but were scattered. The same pattern with some variations was followed in later treaties with the other Indians of western Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Thus Canada sought through treaty provisions to make Indian people into individual farmers after the pattern of white men.

In 1876 an over-all Indian policy was outlined by the Canadian Parliament, and in 1880 a Department of Indian Affairs was created to implement this and the treaties. Although Indian communities were allowed to retain their traditional leadership and forms of organization, these had no power. All control over the funds, the lands, the government services, and most other activities on Indian reserves lay with a government agent. As in the United States, efforts at "education" and "civilization" were aimed at the destruction of native American religions, languages, and cultures. Indian people were allowed the right to become full citizens of Canada at any time, but once having made the decision for "enfranchisement" they lost all rights as Indians, including the right to live upon a reserve or take part in its affairs. This decision could never be reversed, either by themselves or by their descendants.

So by 1900 the native American peoples of both countries found themselves dispossessed and like strangers in their own land. They were told that their customs were "savage," their religions "primitive," and their race doomed to die out. Above all, white men resented their desire to be separate. Indians were granted equal treatment as citizens and human beings only when they denied their native heritage, abandoned their own communities, and became rootless members of the white world.

For some, defeat had come after gallant but suicidal warfare. Other groups, among which were the Ojibwe, had resisted stubbornly but peacefully. In this way they were able to preserve not only the lives of their people, but something of their traditions and institutions, and even a few fragments of their homeland.

THE TAKING OF OJIBWE LAND
MAP 11



Map 11 shows all of the land that was taken from the Ojibwe people by the white man. None of it was seized in outright war; all was acquired by agreements or treaties through which the tribe ceded (sold) the land to either the United States or the Canadian government. This does not mean that the Ojibwe gave up their homeland willingly. Usually they were faced with the choice of selling the land or having it taken anyway. Often they were threatened with starvation if they refused to sell.

The first of these treaties, signed in 1781, and the last, made in 1929, were both with Canada. All of the important land cession treaties with the United States were made in the forty-eight years between 1819 and 1866. The solid color area of the map was included in treaties signed by the Ojibwe people alone. Land in the shaded areas was held along with other tribes, and the treaties ceding it were signed by all of the groups who occupied it.

The area in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin and the smaller pieces in western Iowa and eastern Kansas represent land that was occupied by a mixed group of Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Potawatomi who lived originally in southern Michigan and northern Ohio. They moved first to Illinois, then to Iowa, and eventually to Kansas. In time even this small reserve of land was taken from them. The white spot in northern Minnesota represents what is today the Red Lake reservation. This land was never ceded to the United States.

The question of who had the right to sell the land was often a difficult one, for the Ojibwe had no formalized central government. Each band was independent, and although the territory it occupied was generally well known and respected by others, there were no fixed boundaries. Hunting, fishing, and ricing grounds were often shared by several groups, and bands sometimes moved from one region to another. In the end, Europeans usually struck their bargains only with the people who actually lived in the area they wanted to take, although if treaty negotiators felt that it would be to their advantage, they sometimes tried to deal with larger groups.

TREATIES, 1781-1833
MAP 12

The first land bought from the Ojibwe by white men was a narrow strip along the Niagara River between Lakes Erie and Ontario (marked C1 on Map 12). This strategic area became the site of a British fort and included what is now the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. It was given up by the Missisauga and other Ojibwe bands living in the neighborhood in 1764, though not until 1781 was the sale ratified by a formal treaty with the British government. In 1781 also the British purchased Mackinac Island, which was to become the site of another major fort (C2).

The next land yielded by the Ojibwe of southern Ontario was sold in order to aid other Indian people. In the early 1700s, when the Missisauga had first moved south into the country between Lake Huron and Lakes Erie and Ontario, they had been at war with the Iroquois. In time peace was made, and as the years passed the Missisauga became closely allied with their former enemies. For a few years (1746-50) the Missisauga band even joined the Iroquois confederacy. Though this alliance was broken during the war between France and England, the friendship was remembered after the close of the American Revolution.

A number of the Iroquois had fought with the British against the colonists, yet when the treaty of peace was signed in 1783, the Iroquois found that in spite of British promises their homeland was included within the boundaries of the new American nation. Many chose to emigrate rather than live under the Americans, and to give these refugees a place to live, the Missisauga agreed to cede to the British government territory along the northern shore of Lake Ontario and at the eastern end of Lake Erie (C3).

The Iroquois were not the only refugees who moved at this time to British North America. Great numbers of American colonists who had remained loyal to the English king also left their homes after the peace treaty had been signed and moved across the new border. They, too, needed land, and the pressure upon the Indian people of southern Ontario increased. Over the next forty years a continuing series of

small cessions nibbled away gradually at Indian land in that region until by 1825 nearly all of it had been sold (C4).

Meanwhile, on the American side of the new international border the conquest by white men was less peaceful. As soon as the Revolutionary War ended, a flood of settlers poured into the upper Ohio Valley, claiming that the Indian nations living there had forfeited their rights by allying themselves with the British. The Ohio Valley tribes — Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, and Huron (by then called Wyandot), together with a few bands of Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibwe — resisted fiercely. During nearly ten years of warfare they routed several forces of frontier militia, and in 1791, led by the Miami chief, Little Turtle, they destroyed an army of regular troops under General Arthur St. Clair. In 1794, however, the allied tribes were defeated at the battle of Fallen Timbers in northwestern Ohio, and in the following year representatives from these and other smaller groups signed the treaty of Greenville. By this treaty all of southern and eastern Ohio was yielded to the United States (US1), along with Fort Detroit and the land immediately around it. The Ojibwe also ceded the island of Mackinac, which had previously been purchased from them by the British (C2), and a strip of land along the northern shore of the Strait of Mackinac.

In 1805 (US2), 1807 (US3), and 1817 (US4) the Ojibwe joined again with the Ohio Valley tribes in ceding pieces of land in northern Ohio and southern Michigan, but it was not until 1819 that they were called upon to give up an important part of their own hunting grounds — land upon which the Ojibwe, and they only, had lived for several generations. The area in question was a great, diagonal slice of Lower Michigan, centering around the valley of the Saginaw River and the shores of Saginaw Bay (US5).

The Ojibwe were totally against selling the land. Their leading spokesman, Chief Ke-ke-to, said: "We are here to smoke the pipe of peace, but not to sell our lands.... The warm wave of the white man rolls in upon us and melts us away. Our women reproach us. Our children want homes. Shall we sell from under them the spot where they spread their blankets? We have not called you here." But to Lewis Cass, the new governor of Michigan Territory and the leading negotiator for the United States, the treaty was politically important. The way in which he got it signed set a pattern for many treaties to come.

After the first council session, in which the Ojibwe indignantly refused to sell their land, there followed several days of behind-the-scenes negotiation. Traders talked with the Indian leaders they knew, and at last one Ojibwe was found who was willing to sign the treaty on the condition that some land be reserved for his people to live on and that he and his friends receive special grants. He persuaded others, and when the council met again, the people were divided and suspicious of each other. Angry words were exchanged, and at last the opponents of the treaty realized that even if they refused to sign, others would do so, and the government would claim the land anyway.

The treaty commissioners were forced to make one concession. They had hoped to move all the Ojibwe out of Lower Michigan into more western territories, but Cass soon realized that none would agree to that. Therefore certain lands were retained by the Indians. Not for long, however. Within twenty years these reserves were given up also, and the Ojibwe of Lower Michigan agreed either to move to the Lake Superior area or to follow a small group of their brothers who had been relocated in Kansas. Nevertheless, a few remained, and others returned, forming a small but persistent community of Ojibwe in central Michigan.

In the meantime, Governor Cass had visited Sault Ste. Marie, and from the Ojibwe bands there he had purchased in 1820 land on which to build a United States fort (Fort Brady) to guard the border from the British. At almost the same time another fort was being erected close to the lands of the Ojibwe on the upper Mississippi. This was Fort Snelling, established in 1819 near the present-day site of Minneapolis and St. Paul on land purchased from the Dakota people. So by 1822 two major military posts commanded the Ojibwe country — one in the east and one in the west. And in 1821 the remaining Ottawa and Ojibwe who lived in southwestern Michigan had been persuaded to sell their lands (US6) and move northward.

A number of southern Ojibwe had long since mingled with bands of Ottawa and Potawatomi, who, like the Ojibwe, had been attracted to the Detroit area by the trading opportunities there. Over the years these kindred groups had become almost a single people who called themselves the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. Together they had moved westward at some time in the mid-1700s into what is now northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. In a series of seven treaties signed between 1816 and 1833 this "United Nation" gave up their claims east of the Mississippi (US7). The 1833 treaty promised them new land on the western plains.

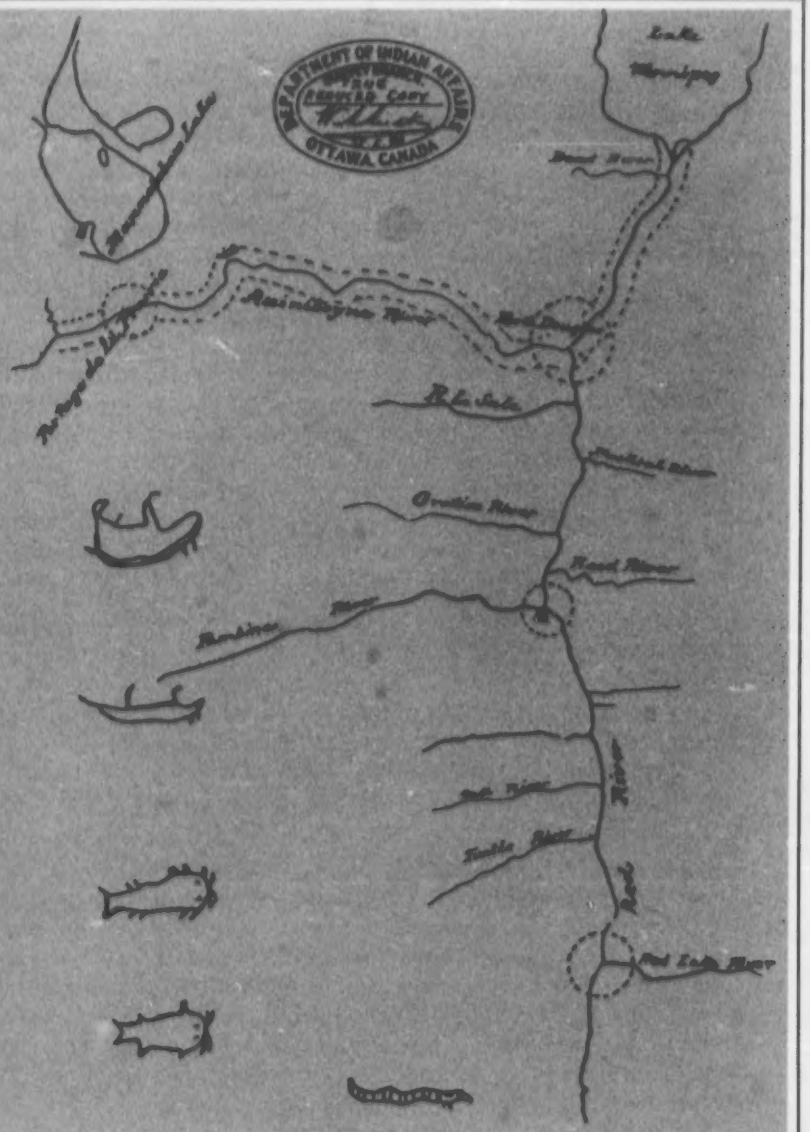
THE SELKIRK TREATY — 1817

In 1670 the English king gave to the Hudson's Bay Company a royal charter which granted it control over all the lands draining into Hudson Bay. Europeans then knew almost nothing about these lands or the people living on them. By 1800, however, the great fur company had built posts far to the inland and traders reported that while most of the land was cold and rugged, there was one area suitable for agriculture. This was the valley of the Red River.

The Earl of Selkirk, a Scottish philanthropist, heard of the rich, level soil and moderate climate there, and he determined to start a colony for landless European farmers. He got the Hudson's Bay Company to grant him a large section of country in what is now southern Manitoba. But before he could start his colony, the earl found that he must also make some agreement with the Indian people who lived there. So in 1617 he signed a treaty with the bands of Ojibwe and Cree Indians in the area.

The agreement gave Selkirk a strip of land two miles wide along each bank of the Red and Assiniboine rivers and a six-mile circle around four forts he intended to build. Although this was really a purchase of land by a single individual and not an official government treaty, it was the basis for the first permanent white settlement among the western Ojibwe.

A map which accompanied the Selkirk treaty and was signed by the Ojibwe representatives is shown at right. The signatures are in the form of small drawings of each man's totem. The one at the top is probably a bear, and the two at lower left represent catfish.



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Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890. Ottawa, 1905

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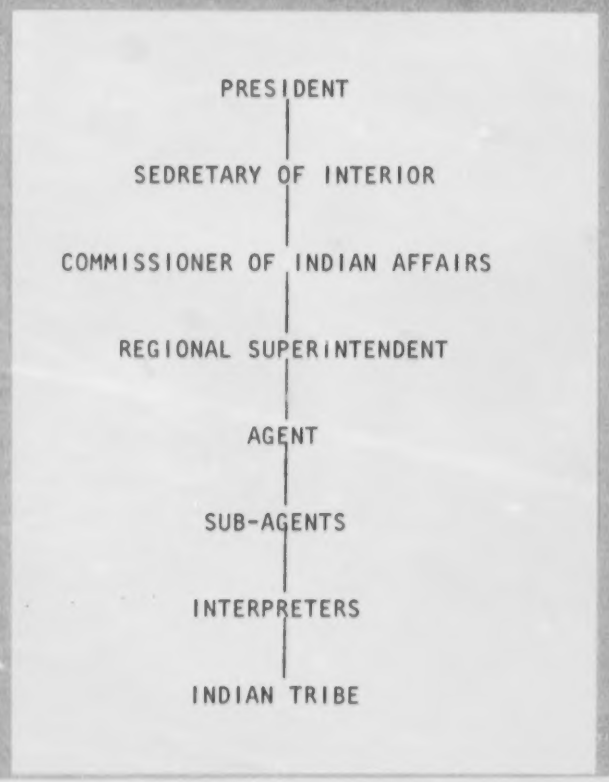

Many complaints have been made through the years concerning the layers of government bureaucracy that have surrounded United States Indian affairs. The number of officials required to manage relations with the various tribes in the nineteenth century was small compared to the number employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, bureaucracy got an early start. Indian affairs were administered by the War Department until 1849, when the Interior Department was created to handle the vast quantity of public land that was being acquired through treaties. The new department was also given control over relations with all Indians. The diagram here shows the six levels of bureaucracy that in 1849 already stood between Indian people and the White House.

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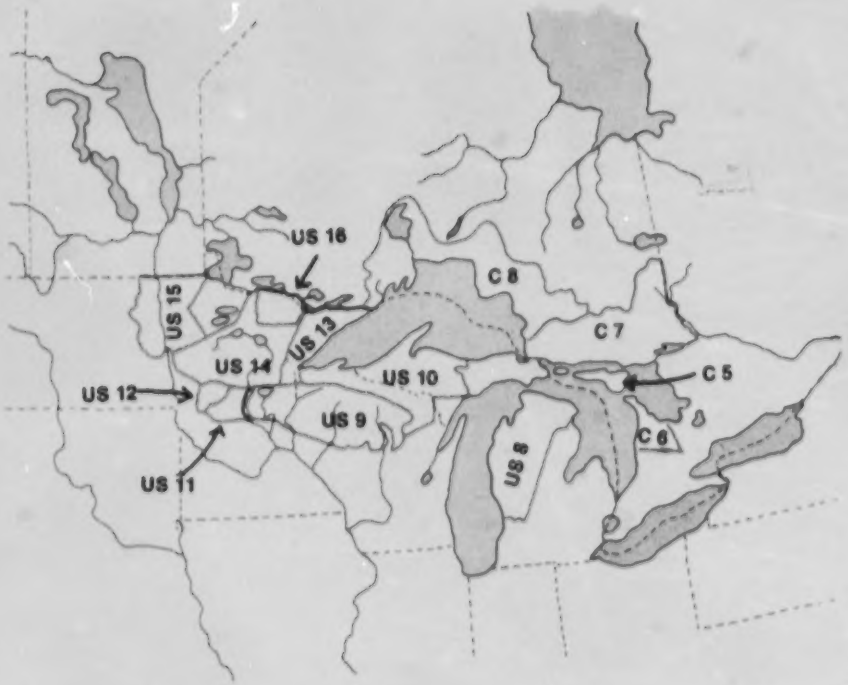
TREATIES, 1834-67
MAP 13



The years between 1836 and 1867 were a time of great change and sorrow for most of the Ojibwe people. Pressure upon them increased from all sides, and within this third of a century the white man took possession of the core of the Anishinabe land. As shown on Map 13, this included all of the area bordering Lake Superior, most of what remained bordering Lake Huron, northern Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, and the plains of the Red River Valley, reaching into the northeastern corner of what is now North Dakota.

In 1836 the United States government purchased from the Ottawa and Ojibwe the northwestern part of Lower Michigan and the eastern

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half of Upper Michigan (US8). In the same year the British government made an agreement with the Ottawa and Ojibwe living on Manitoulin Island and other islands in Lake Huron (C5) to make room there for "many Indians who wish to be civilized, as well as to be totally separated from the whites." This effort by the British to create an exclusive "Indian territory" was largely unsuccessful, although a number of Ottawa migrated from the United States, and within ten years there was a community of some seven hundred Ottawa and Ojibwe there. The southern peninsula between Lake Huron and Georgian Bay had been ceded by 1857 (C6), and most of Manitoulin Island was ceded in 1862, leaving only a comparatively small reserve for the Indian people.

In 1837 United States agents sent out a message summoning various Ojibwe of northern Wisconsin and Minnesota to a treaty-making council at Fort Snelling. They wished to make a treaty with the whole tribe for the purchase of land in the Wisconsin, Chippewa, and St. Croix valleys which held rich forests of pine timber (US9). The Ojibwe argued that the decision should be made by those bands that lived or hunted on the land to be sold. Nevertheless, representatives from the Pillager, Red Lake, Mississippi, Fond du Lac, and Chequamegon bands — all of whom were outside the area in question — were urged into signing the treaty. Spokesmen from the major bands in northern Wisconsin arrived late, and some of the smaller groups whose homes were sold were never heard in the council.

Fur traders from far and wide arrived, however. Beginning in 1825, the government had adopted the custom of paying the debts owed to traders by individual Indians out of the funds received by the tribe for the sale of land. Since few Indian people kept written records of their debts, there was no way to prove or disprove the honesty of the traders' accounts. When the 1837 treaty was at last signed, the government agreed to pay $70,000 to traders representing the American Fur Company, and the pattern of payments to traders was repeated in most of the succeeding Ojibwe treaties until 1864.

More treaty commissioners came in 1842. This time the lure was mineral wealth as well as timber. For more than a hundred years white men had known that the hills along the southern shore of Lake Superior held rich deposits of copper and iron. The United States representatives who bargained for this area with the Lake Superior bands talked much about mines and trees and little about settlement. Some of the Ojibwe who signed the treaty were led to believe that it was only the minerals and timber they were selling, although the agreement actually

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ceded the land itself (US10). They discovered their mistake in 1850 when the government told them that they must leave their homes along the lake and move west into Minnesota. They sent a delegation to Washington, D.C., and after hearing their case, President Millard Fillmore suspended the removal order.

In 1847 the Pillager and Mississippi bands sold two tracts in central Minnesota (US11, US12) to be used as reserves for the Winnebago and Menominee tribes. By locating these two groups between the hostile Dakota and Ojibwe, the government hoped to create a buffer zone that would maintain peace. The Menominee, however, did not care to serve as a buffer and refused to leave their lands along Green Bay. The Winnebago moved but found they did not like the country. Many of them quietly returned to their old homes in southern Wisconsin until they were given a safer and more fertile reserve near Mankato, Minnesota.

As the United States reached west, Great Britain kept pace. Two important treaties were signed at Sault Ste. Marie in September, 1850. They ceded to the British Crown all the country north of Lake Huron from the Ottawa River on the east to Lake Superior on the west (C7) and that north of Lake Superior as far as the United States border at the Pigeon River (C8). Both purchases extended northward as far as the watershed that divides the basin of the Great Lakes from that of Hudson Bay. Not only was the extent of land greater than in previous British treaties, but the terms given the Ojibwe foreshadowed later Canadian policy. Land was reserved to them large enough only "for purposes of cultivation" and small annuities were granted each person. The British government avoided the policy of including payments to private traders in land treaties.

The ring of white ownership around Lake Superior closed in 1854, when the Mississippi, Lake Superior, and Bois Fort bands of the Ojibwe signed a treaty at La Pointe, Wisconsin, ceding to the United States the country around the western tip of the lake and north of it as far as the British border (US13). For the Ojibwe this treaty held special significance, since it provided reserves in Upper Michigan, Wisconsin, and northeastern Minnesota upon which the bands could live. Thus as far as the Ojibwe were concerned the government gave up its policy of removal to lands farther west. In assigning reserved lands, however, two groups were overlooked. The Sakaogon or Mole Lake band, which lived deep in the forests at the headwaters of the Wisconsin River, and the St. Croix band, whose members were scattered through the upper St. Croix Valley, were not represented at the treaty council. Nearly a century would pass before these people were given reservations.

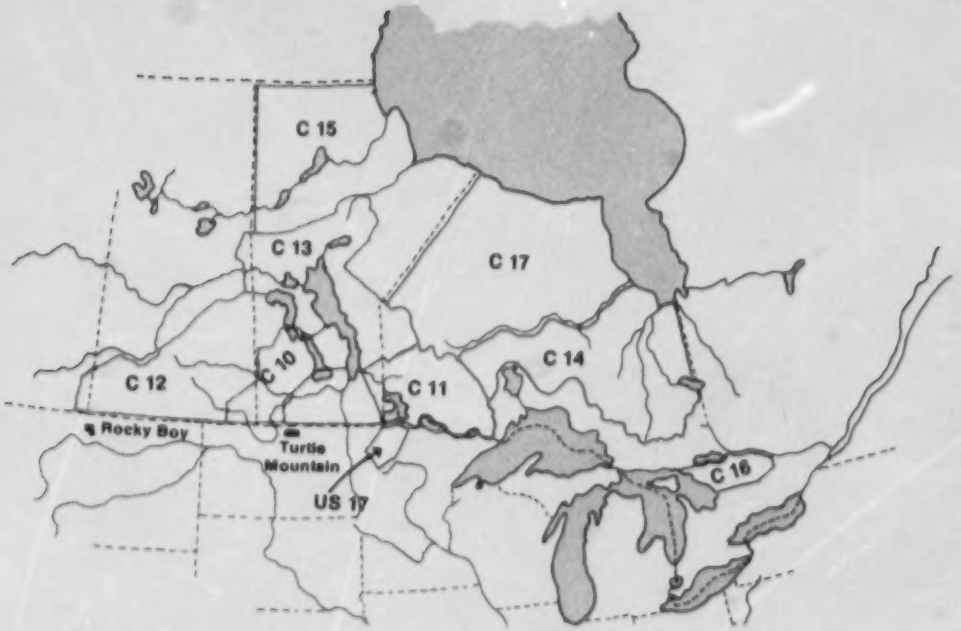
In 1855 representatives of the Mississippi, Pillager, and Lake Winnibigoshish bands traveled to Washington to sign away their country around the Mississippi headwaters (US14), and in 1864 the Pembina and Red Lake bands ceded the flat and fertile Red River Valley — some of the richest agricultural land in North America (US15). This treaty was first signed in 1863 at a spot known as the "Old Crossing" on the Red Lake River. It was the last of many purchases of Indian land negotiated by Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota.

Ramsey, like Lewis Cass, was a skilled and ruthless treaty-maker. He took advantage of an incident the year before in which a few Ojibwe had helped themselves to some goods of a trader who was crossing their land without permission. Ramsey threatened the bands with punishment like that of the hostile Dakota, who were at the very time being hunted across the plains by the United States Army. He pointed out that if they signed the treaty, there would be money to pay the trader, and their "crimes" would then be overlooked by their merciful white father. The Ojibwe leaders had every reason to believe that Ramsey's threats would be carried out. (He had two companies of cavalry with him.) So although they protested against it, most of them signed the treaty. Of it Ramsey later boasted: "No territorial acquisitions of equal intrinsic value have been made from the Indians at so low a rate per acre." Moreover, an exorbitant sum of $100,000 was allowed for traders' claims against the tribe.

In spite of Ramsey's threats and attempts at bribery, Ma-dwa-ga-no-mint, a young leader of the Red Lake band, flatly refused to sign. His example may have influenced several other Ojibwe spokesmen who insisted upon going to Washington. When they arrived there, they found that the Senate had made changes in the treaty before ratifying it, and they, too, refused to sign. A new treaty was then worked out which altered some of the worst features of the original agreement. Nevertheless, a hundred years later a commission that had been created by Congress to hear and decide longstanding Indian claims of injustice held that this treaty had cheated the Ojibwe by some two million dollars.

The last major land cession treaty between the Ojibwe and the United States government was signed by the Bois Fort band in 1866. It included a comparatively small area of northern Minnesota lying directly south of the Rainy River (US16).

TREATIES, 1868-1929
MAP 14



The land cessions made by Ojibwe people between 1868 and 1929, which are shown on Map 14, were all in Canada except for the sale of an area in northern Minnesota by the Red Lake band in 1889 (US17). This was legally an "agreement," not a treaty, for it came eighteen years after Congress had abandoned the making of treaties with Indian tribes.

Until 1870 the great unsettled regions of the Canadian northwest had been controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company under the royal charter granted to it in 1670. These lands had been governed as a private empire, almost entirely in the interests of the fur trade. But in 1870 the company's territory was annexed to Canada, the Province of Manitoba was organized, and settlers began pouring in. In the summer of 1871 the Ojibwe and eastern or "Swampy" Cree of the Red River Valley were summoned to Lower Fort Garry, north of Winnipeg, to sign a treaty (C9). When they objected to being overrun by white settlers and demanded a large payment and reserves of hunting territory for themselves, the realities of their situation were bluntly pointed out. According to the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba: "We told them that whether they wished it or not, immigrants would come in and fill up the country, . . . and that now was the time for them to come to an arrangement that would secure homes and annuities for themselves and their children. . . . If they thought it better to have no treaty at all, they might do without one, but they must make up their minds."

They were offered 160 acres of land per family to be located in the vicinity in which each band lived; a school for each group of families "whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it"; and annuities of three dollars per person each year, to be paid in goods or cash as the government should choose. Three weeks later the same unbending terms were offered to the Ojibwe around Lake Manitoba and in the upper Assiniboine Valley (C10).

The number of Indian people in this region was not great, and their only hope of resisting this seizure of their country lay in uniting with the large population of mixed-bloods who lived there. These mixed-bloods or Metis, as they were called, had grown in numbers during nearly 150 years of European and Indian contact through the fur trade in the Red River Valley. They lived in well-organized communities and

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supported themselves by a combination of buffalo hunting and farming. Like the Indians, they looked with alarm upon the inrushing tide of white settlers, many of whom were arrogant and racially biased. The Metis also resented having the country made a part of Canada without the consent of the people living in it. But by 1871 they had decided to accept the changes peaceably — at least for the time.

As settlement and business increased in the new province there was growing pressure for transportation routes that would link it directly with the rest of Canada, for at that time Manitoba could not be reached by land except through the United States. Roads had not yet been built across the rugged Canadian Shield country, and the part of it which lay west of Lake Superior still belonged to the Ojibwe.

Construction of a trail was begun from Port Arthur (now Thunder Bay) on Lake Superior in 1868, and in 1870 it was opened after a fashion by a military expedition from eastern Canada which traveled over it all the way to Winnipeg. Almost the whole length of this trail — called the Dawson Route — lay in the Ojibwe country of western Ontario, and the tribe immediately objected to the unauthorized traffic passing through their land.

In 1871 the Ojibwe met with government commissioners at Fort Frances and demanded payment for the right of way through their country. The commissioners said they were authorized only to buy the land itself. If the Ojibwe wished to be paid at all, they must cede the land. The meeting was broken off.

Two years later, in 1873, another council was held. In the meantime hundreds of immigrants had traveled over the Dawson Route, overnight stopping places had been built, corduroy road of logs had been laid in many places, and steamboats ran regularly on Rainy Lake, Rainy River, and Lake of the Woods. Wood was cut to fuel these steamers, but the Ojibwe were not paid for the trees, since the Canadian government argued that wood and water were a gift of God and belonged to anyone who took them.

The bands through whose territory the route actually ran still opposed a treaty, but those groups that lived to the north and east were willing to sell. Taking advantage of this division among the Ojibwe, the commissioners at last succeeded in obtaining the land cession (C11).

In 1874 and 1875 the Canadian government took from the Cree and the plains bands of Ojibwe all of southeastern Saskatchewan and the land surrounding Lake Winnipeg (C12, C13). Within the next ten years similar treaties had been signed with the Cree, the Blackfeet, and the Assiniboin of Saskatchewan and Alberta. There was growing discontent, however, among the plains tribes. The buffalo herds upon which they had always depended for food, shelter, and clothing were being slaughtered by white men, and the government had done nothing to insure Indian people any other means of livelihood. The same problem was faced by many of the Metis, numbers of whom had moved westward from Manitoba to settle in Saskatchewan and Montana.

In 1885 members of both Indian and Metis groups joined together in an armed uprising against the government of Canada. They were led by a mixed-blood named Louis Riel. Most of the warfare was conducted by Metis and Cree, but one small band of Ojibwe was also involved in the Riel Rebellion. According to memory and tradition this group had split off from the Red Lake band many years before and had taken to the life of buffalo hunting on the plains. Their leader was known as Stone Child or Little Stone Man, which white men in time converted to "Rocky Boy." They had migrated northward and had allied themselves with a Saskatchewan Cree band led by a chief named Big Bear.

The Ojibwe band along with Big Bear's people took an active part in the uprising, and after they had been defeated by Canadian troops, they fled south across the border into Montana, bringing some of the Cree with them. For more than twenty-five years this mixed group lived a wandering life. When there were no longer buffalo, they survived by collecting and selling the bleaching bones and polished horns of the great animals, which had been left strewn across the grasslands during the last mad slaughter of the herds. Eventually Big Bear's son, whose mother had been Ojibwe, replaced the aged Stone Child as their leader. They had no reservation land or legal rights, and at one time United States troops undertook to deport them across the border. The story is told of how they reached their homes again faster than the soldiers did. At last in 1913, after years of near-starvation, they were granted a small reserve of land in the Bear Paw Mountains of north-central Montana. Today it is known as the Rocky Boy reservation.

Another far western group of Ojibwe had also become separated from the rest of the tribe during these troubled years. They were people who lived in the Turtle Mountain area of North Dakota and who came to be called, after one of their leaders, the Little Shell band. They had belonged to the Pembina band, but when the Red Lake and Pembina

Glenbow-Alberta Institute

Manitoba officials addressing leaders of the Red River Valley Ojibwe and Cree bands at Lower Fort Garry in 1871.

leaders signed the treaty of 1864, ceding to the United States the Red River Valley along with all their claims to land in Dakota Territory, the Turtle Mountain Ojibwe were not consulted. They refused to recognize the treaty, and for a while the United States government set aside the land they claimed. In 1882, however, it was opened to sale and settlement by white men without the consent of the Little Shell band and without any compensation to them. When they protested bitterly, a reservation was created for them in the Turtle Mountains.

The number of people in this community was greatly increased in the years that followed. A group of Metis from Pembina moved to the Turtle Mountains, and they were joined by still other Metis from Canada, who had fled after the rebellion of 1885. In the meantime the government had arbitrarily cut the Turtle Mountain reservation to a tenth of its original size — again without consulting or compensating the inhabitants. Since the buffalo upon which both Indians and Metis had depended for food were gone, and since little of the remaining reservation land was fit for farming, the result was hunger. During the winter of 1887-88 more than 150 people in the Turtle Mountain community died of starvation.

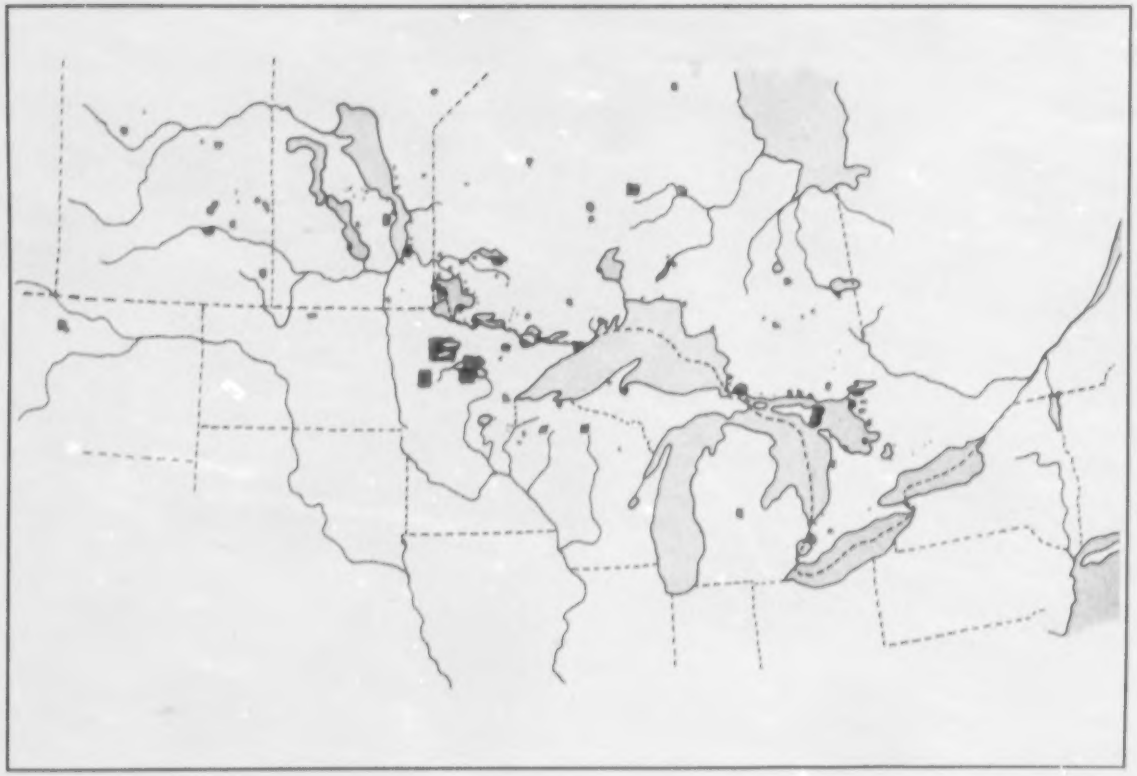
At last in 1892 Congress created a commission to investigate the situation and pay the Ojibwe for giving up all claims to land in North Dakota. An agreement was finally reached by which the Little Shell band received a million dollars for some ten million acres of land. It came to be known as the "ten cent treaty," and annuities were paid over a period of twenty years. The size of the reservation was not increased, however, and it remained too small to support the people living on it.

All major land cessions of the twentieth century took place in Canada. In 1905, by the James Bay treaty, Canada took the land lying north of Lakes Superior and Huron as far as the Albany River and James Bay (C14). In 1910 and 1929 additional northern lands occupied by scattered bands of Cree and Ojibwe were acquired (C15, C17). These agreements were officially listed as "adhesions" or additions to the 1875 and 1905 treaties.

Meanwhile, the last Ojibwe claim in eastern Ontario was legally "extinguished." After a lengthy investigation Canada admitted that Indian people had never legally given up the hunting and fishing rights that they had held between Georgian Bay and the Ottawa River (C16). In 1923 the bands involved were paid $500,000 by the Province of Ontario.

OJIBWE LANDS IN NORTH AMERICA AS THEY REMAIN TODAY

MAP 15



Map 15 shows the location and approximate size of all Ojibwe reserves now existing in the United States and Canada. Some scattered parcels of land are so small that they could not be shown, and some of the more northern reserves in Canada include both Cree and Ojibwe people. The size of reservations in the United States as they appear on a map gives a false impression of the extent of Indian-owned land, for in some cases most of the reservation has been purchased by white men. For example, Ojibwe people own less than ten per cent of the Leech Lake reservation in Minnesota. An outstanding exception to this is Minnesota's Red Lake reservation, which is entirely Indian-owned.

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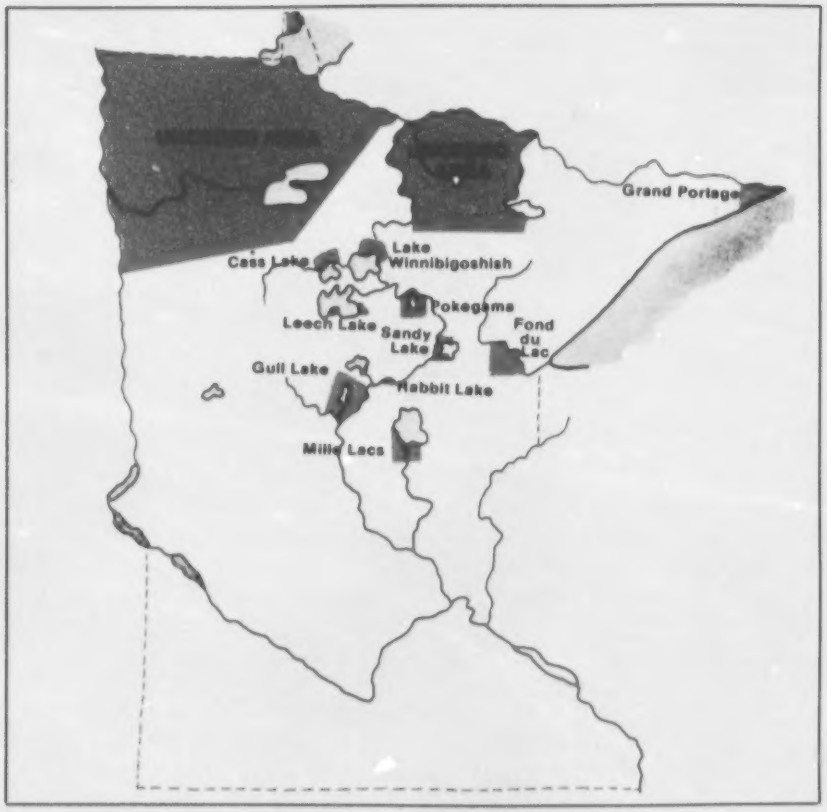
ATTEMPTS TO CONSOLIDATE THE MINNESOTA OJIBWE, 1855-65

MAP 16



In Michigan and Wisconsin and throughout most of Canada the size and location of Ojibwe reserves did not change a great deal from what was set up by the original land-cession treaties. In Minnesota this was not true. The first Ojibwe reserves in Minnesota were created by the treaties of 1854 and 1855. They are shown on Map 16. Two of them (Grand Portage and Fond du Lac) belonged to the Lake Superior bands. Five (Mille Lacs, Gull Lake, Rabbit Lake, Sandy Lake, and Pokegama) belonged to the Mississippi bands. Two (Leech Lake and Cass Lake) were Pillager, and the Lake Winnibigoshish band had a reserve on the shores of the lake from which they took their name. In 1855 there were still two large unceded areas in the northern and northwestern parts of the state. The first belonged to the Bois Fort band and the second to the Red Lake and Pembina bands.

In 1863 another treaty was proposed by which the Mississippi bands were to give up their five scattered communities and join the Pillagers on a single large reservation that would include all of Leech, Cass, and Winnibigoshish lakes and the country around them. The Mississippi Ojibwe rejected this idea, so the treaty was redrawn. The size of the proposed reservation was greatly increased and money was added to provide a road, three hundred acres of cleared and plowed land, a sawmill, and other buildings.

To ensure that this new treaty would be accepted, the government chose only two chiefs to go to Washington and sign for all the Mississippi bands. By the end of two years after the treaty was ratified, however, it had become clear that the scheme was a failure. The people of the Mississippi bands were deeply opposed to it, and none of them had moved.

CONSOLIDATION AND LAND ALLOTMENT IN MINNESOTA, 1867-1900
MAP 17

In 1867 another plan was proposed for concentrating the Minnesota Ojibwe. In line with the government policy of large and isolated reservations, a new tract was set aside on the eastern edge of the Red River Valley. It included both fertile prairie land and some fine stands of pine timber and was thought to be large enough to eventually give homes not only to the scattered Mississippi bands, but to the Pillagers, the Pembina band, and others. Ten chiefs of the Mississippi bands signed the treaty, and within nine years about eight hundred of their people had moved to the new White Earth reservation.

In 1876 the number of colonists at White Earth was nearly doubled by the arrival of a group of Pembina Ojibwe and some Pillagers who had lived for many years in the vicinity of Otter Tail Lake but who had been given no reservation there. During the next ten years the Ojibwe people at White Earth formed a prosperous farming community, cleared land, built houses, organized churches and schools, and published a newspaper.

The first people to go to White Earth had been a group from Gull Lake, and more followed from there, from Mille Lacs, and from elsewhere. Members of the Mississippi bands from Rabbit Lake and Sandy Lake were moved in time to the vicinity of Leech Lake. Along with others, they settled at a place called White Oak Point near present-day Deer River. It was just outside the reservation boundary, but in 1873 the line was extended eastward to include this area.

Other additions also were made to the Leech Lake reservation in 1873 and 1874, but soon the Indian people there faced a new kind of

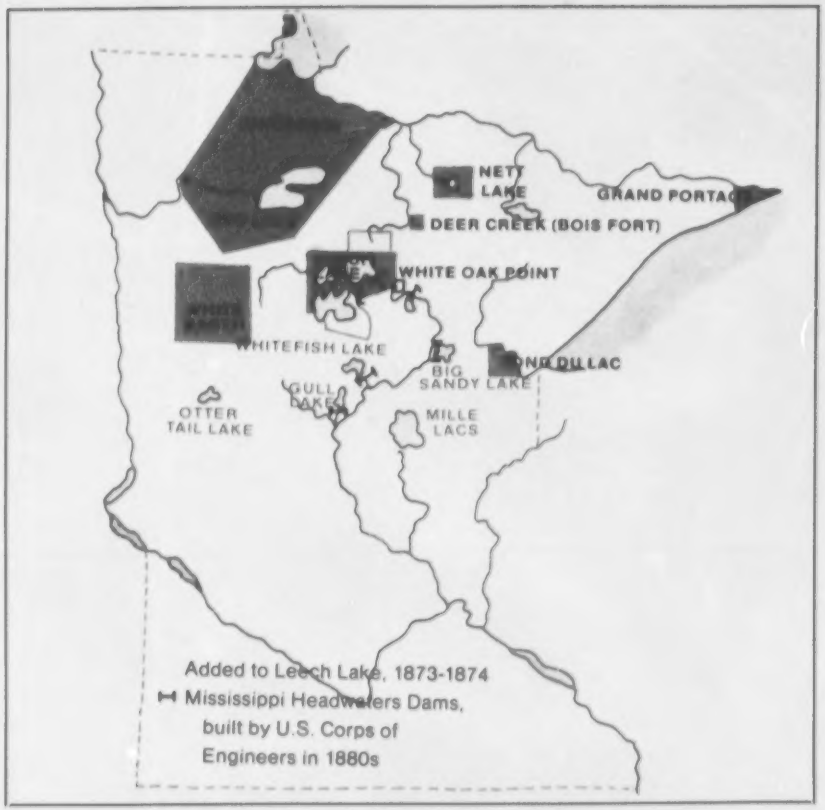


PHOTO: MHS

threat to their homes. The growing industrial city of Minneapolis demanded water power. When the flow in the Mississippi was high there was more water than necessary, but in dry seasons when the river was low there was hardly enough to turn the mill wheels. Millowners argued that the flow could be equalized by a system of dams and reservoirs at the river's source. They were joined by steamboat men who also wanted a regulated level of water in the Mississippi, and soon they persuaded the government to build such a system of dams.

Unfortunately for Ojibwe people, the easiest way to create reservoirs was to raise the level of lakes at the river's headwaters — Winnibigoshish, Leech, and Pokegama. (Later, dams at Whitefish Lake, Big Sandy Lake, and Gull Lake were also added.) This would not only destroy many acres of wild rice and cranberries, as well as some timber, but it would flood shoreline areas where Indian fields, gardens, and homes were located. A storm of protest arose among the Ojibwe, and government surveying parties were threatened. Despite Indian objections, however, the United States Army Corps of Engineers began work in 1882. Map 17 shows the location of the dams they built. These are still maintained by the government, and the level of the large lakes as well as many connecting lakes and streams has been permanently raised.

In the meantime, plans for consolidating all of the Minnesota Ojibwe were slowly grinding ahead. In 1886 a commission was appointed to negotiate with all of the bands except those of Red Lake to give up their old reservations and go to White Earth. A number of the Pillager, Winnibigoshish, and assorted Mississippi bands agreed to the proposition, although no one was in a hurry to move. Most of the Mille Lacs band refused outright, and the commission did not seriously try to persuade the Lake Superior bands from Fond du Lac and Grand Portage or the Bois Fort band from Nett Lake.

Already, however, government policy had begun to change again. The idea of large consolidated reservations was being abandoned. The European's insatiable hunger for land was bringing settlers into nearly all the reservation areas that had seemed so remote and unwanted only twenty years before. Voters were demanding that each Indian family be given a farm and that the rest of the reserved land be sold to white men. In 1887, therefore, Congress passed the Dawes Allotment Act. Thus land allotment became national policy, although it was strongly opposed by most Indian people, including the Ojibwe.

In Minnesota the disposal of Ojibwe lands was carried out under a separate law introduced in 1888 by Congressman Knute Nelson and known as the Nelson Act. It made special provisions for the sale of the valuable Indian-owned timber lands and also for moving all of the state's Ojibwe (except the Red Lake band) to White Earth. The latter provision, however, was in effect cancelled by an amendment to the same law which allowed Indian people to choose allotments on their old reservations. Although some were still persuaded or coerced into going to White Earth, most stayed in their old homes.

For those who had moved, the next twenty years was a tragic period. The White Earth reservation had been chosen as a good place for Indian people where they could hope to make a decent living, and the land there was more desirable than on most of the other Minnesota reservations. White men, therefore, were determined to get it. Through a long series of unfair state laws and government rulings, and through every form of fraud and trickery "that human ingenuity could devise," according to one United States inspector, the White Earth Ojibwe were stripped of their land. By 1909 — only twenty years after allotment — 80 per cent of the reservation had passed into private hands, and Indian people had received no more than a tenth of its value. The once prosperous Ojibwe community had been reduced to the grimmest poverty. According to the nationally respected anthropologist Ales Hrdlicka, White Earth had become "one of the most shameful pages in the history of the white man's dealings with the Indian."

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THE LAND THAT REMAINS TO THE OJIBWE AND HOW THE TIMBER WAS TAKEN, 1889-1900

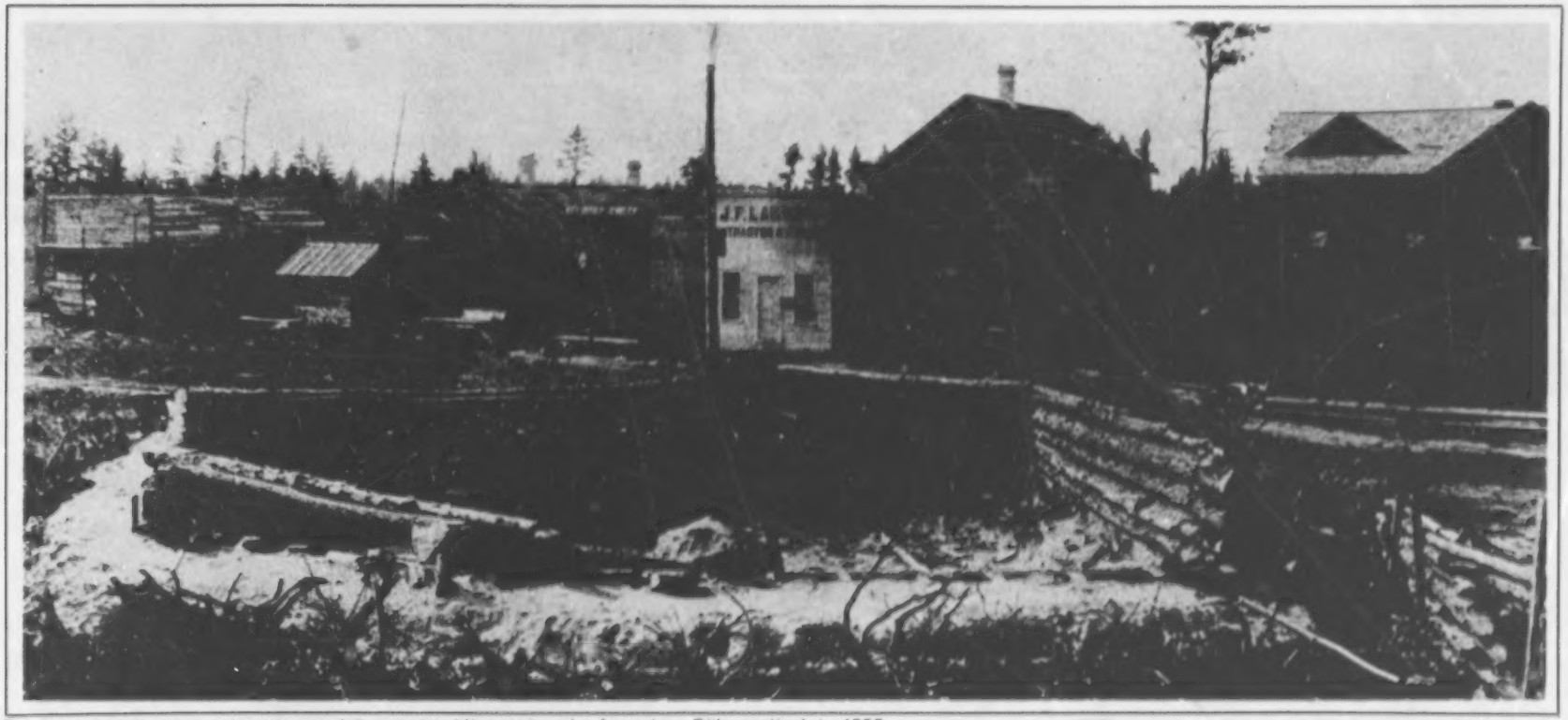
MAPS 18 AND 19

Map 18 shows the size and shape of Ojibwe reservations in Wisconsin and Minnesota today, and Map 19 shows the land actually owned by Indian people on the Leech Lake reservation. If the Indian land on any of the reservations (except Red Lake) were consolidated into a single piece, it would appear on a map as only a tiny fraction of the present size. The same is true of Ojibwe reservations in other states.

At the time these reservations were broken up into individual allotments and the "surplus" land was sold by the United States government to white men, the single most valuable resource owned by the tribe was the pine timber on the land. How this was acquired by lumbermen for a fraction of its real value is a long and complicated story.

One way was by simply taking it. As early as the 1880s Indian people at White Earth complained to a party of government commissioners that their timber was being stolen. Instead of assuring them that the law would be enforced and the criminals prosecuted, the commissioners simply advised them to sell the land quickly before all their timber was gone.

Another way was through the purchase of "dead and down" timber — trees that had been killed by fire or blown over by winds. The government issued permits to Indian people to collect and sell such logs on reservation lands while the lumber in them could be salvaged. Lumber companies made a practice of buying up these permits. Once their crews were operating on Indian land, "mistakes" often occurred, and great quantities of live timber were harvested along with the dead logs. If there were no dead timber to be collected, it often happened that an unexplained fire would break out which would kill many trees



Barricade built by the white citizens of Cass Lake, Minnesota, who feared an Ojibwe attack in 1898. PHOTO: MHS

without destroying their value for lumber. Then the government would issue new permits. According to the secretary of the interior in 1899, sale of dead and down timber was "the most convenient vehicle for fraud that had been furnished those who were seeking to despoil the Indians."

There were yet other means of fraud, however. Under the Nelson Act passed in 1889 the timber on Minnesota Ojibwe lands was to be estimated by government appraisers. The land would then be offered for sale at public auction, and any land not taken at that time could be sold later in small parcels by the government land office at the value named by the appraisers. All money received for it was placed in a fund administered by the government for the benefit of the Minnesota Ojibwe. Whether through incompetence or dishonesty, the crews hired by the Interior Department to measure the amount of timber on Indian lands consistently underestimated its value — sometimes by as much as half. There was also reason to believe that at some of the public sales large lumber companies hired "dummies" to bid lands at agreed-upon prices, thus holding down the amount the Indians received.

By the end of the 1890s complaints about the situation in northern Minnesota had created a national scandal. The smoldering anger of the Ojibwe had resulted in an armed confrontation in which a small band of Pillagers had soundly defeated a detachment of army troops, thus spreading panic through the nearby white communities. This so-called "Leech Lake Uprising" brought official investigations and more government promises, but in the end little or nothing was done to stop the timber frauds.

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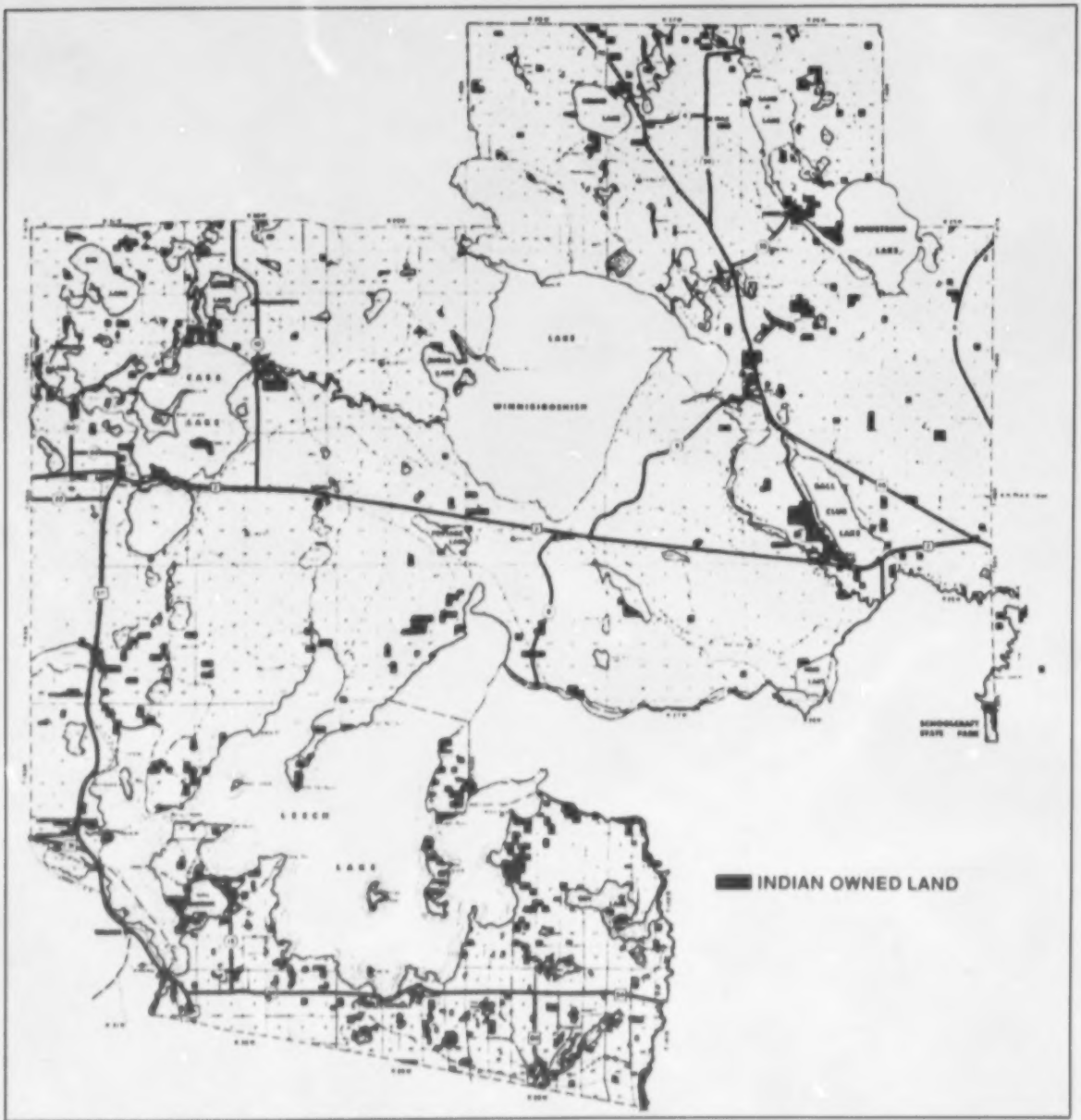


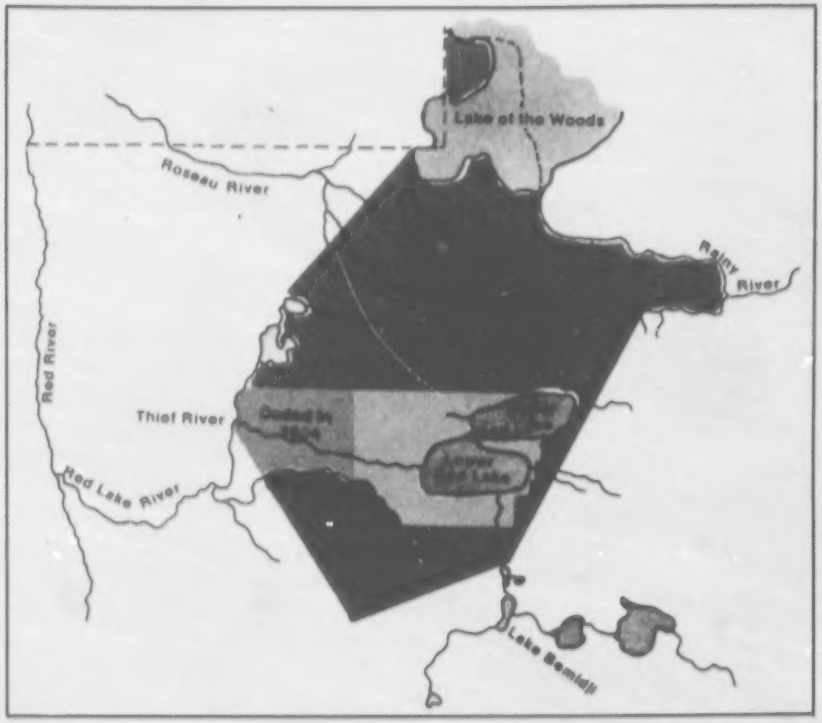
Aguar, Jyring and Whiteman -- Planning Associates. **Tourist and Recreational Resources. Leech Lake Indian Reservation -- Minnesota.** Duluth, 1964.

THE RED LAKE RESERVATION
MAP 20

The Red Lake band had been repeatedly excepted from the laws and agreements that looked toward moving all Minnesota Ojibwe to White Earth, but in 1889 a government commission was sent to negotiate under the terms of the Nelson Act for purchase of the entire Red Lake reservation and distribution of farms to individual members of the band. The commissioners found the people there adamant against allotment but willing to give up a part of their extensive lands. Map 20 shows the area ceded at this time. The Nelson Act required that the sale be agreed to not only by the Red Lake band itself, but by all the other Ojibwe of Minnesota and that the money from the sale of the land be credited to the entire tribe. Members of the band felt these terms were unfair but reluctantly accepted them.

Early in the 1900s Minnesota citizens brought pressure on the government to purchase yet another large piece of the Red Lake reservation. The members of the band were unwilling to sell, and in order to get their agreement they were promised that henceforth they would hold their reservation free from any claims by other bands of the tribe. In 1904 Congress included this in the act which provided for cession of the western end of the reservation. Since that time the Red Lake band has been legally separate from the rest of the Minnesota Ojibwe, with its own tribal council, its own government agent, and its own financial arrangements.

The band has also steadfastly refused allotment, and the Red Lake reservation remains today a solid block of Indian land owned in common. In 1918 a General Council of the Red Lake Tribe was officially created to administer the affairs of the band. Their convictions concerning allotment were well expressed in 1934 by Peter Graves, who helped to organize the council and served for many years as its secretary-treasurer. He said: "We believe the greatest evil the government ever inflicted on the Indians was to allot lands in severalty to them. There are some of us who still believe that if we take land in severalty on the Red Lake reservation, our doom is sealed."



Common ownership of the land has made it possible for the band to develop the resources of the reservation for the benefit of the whole community. Several successful cooperative enterprises have been organized, including a sawmill, a commercial fishery, and in recent years a fence post factory. Although these have not brought great prosperity to the band, they have provided employment for a number of people.

Because Red Lake is a "closed" reservation, having no white landowners or residents, the tribal council has greater authority and independence than is true on other Ojibwe reservations. It maintains its own courts and police force, and in 1953, when Congress passed Public Law 280, an exception was made for Red Lake. This act gave to state authorities the responsibility for law enforcement on Indian reservations in five states, including Minnesota and Wisconsin. At Red Lake, however, the tribal court continues to have jurisdiction over minor crimes, and more serious matters are tried in a federal court.

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PHOTO NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Peter Graves was born in 1873. His mother was a member of the Red Lake band and his father came from Manitoba. He was educated in Pennsylvania but returned to Red Lake to become one of the band's best-known leaders for nearly forty years.

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THE PEOPLE ENDURE

GOVERNMENT POLICIES TOWARD NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By the beginning of the twentieth century most of the land had gone — either through treaties with the government, or, after allotment, by private sale. Officially, American Indians were supposed to be a dying people, gradually disappearing into the mainstream of white American society as completely as the buffalo had disappeared from the plains. White anthropologists and archaeologists hurried to record their customs, legends, and languages before they were forgotten, and museums collected their traditional handicrafts and arts. These were usually displayed in the galleries devoted to "natural history" rather than with the exhibits of European and white American history and art.

Meanwhile, in Indian communities people gave little thought to dying. They were too busy learning to live within the framework of an alien world and at the same time trying to preserve the values and customs that mattered most to them. Great adjustments had to be made, and some traditional ways and beliefs were abandoned, but in adopting the new skills and techniques of the industrial world, most Indian people chose the ones that fitted in best with their own kind of life and their own survival as a community. In the years just after 1900 Indian population reached its lowest point, then slowly it began to turn upward, and it has continued to rise.

United States Indian policy during the twentieth century has swung sharply back and forth between the assumption that Indians will soon disappear and recognition that they have a right to maintain a culture distinct from other Americans. Through the early 1900s the government kept up its efforts to force assimilation. Native forms of worship were forbidden; tribal leadership was replaced by government bureaucracy; and in order to obtain an education Indian children were forced to leave their families and attend government boarding schools.

During World War I many American Indians volunteered for service in the armed forces, and their record of wartime heroism produced a strong wave of public feeling that such patriotism should be recognized. So in 1924 all Indian people were granted full United States citizenship. At the same time Indian spokesmen and their friends among white men were pointing to the failures of the land allotment policy and the resulting poverty of many Indian communities. They insisted that something more tangible than citizenship was needed.

In 1928 Congress directed an independent commission to make a full-scale study of Indian policy. The findings of this commission, known as the Meriam Report, suggested a whole new direction in government dealings with Indian people. This change was carried out through the Indian Reorganization Act, passed in 1934. The act ended allotment and further sales of Indian land and provided for the buying back of some tribal lands. It also set up machinery for organizing tribal governments on the model of white democratic institutions. Through these Indian-controlled organizations the government hoped to foster community-owned and managed enterprises and to help each Indian group achieve an economic base or means of enabling its members to earn a living. The late 1930s saw a new emphasis throughout the government system on pride in native American cultures and on recruitment of Indian people to manage their own affairs.

The coming of World War II crippled many of the new programs through lack of financing, while the wartime manpower shortage drew nearly 70,000 Indian people away from reservations into industry and the armed services. Many did not return. In 1946, after the war had ended, Congress created the Indian Claims Commission to hear and judge the hundreds of long-standing tribal grievances left over from the period of treaties and land sales. Up to that time Indian people had been unable to sue the government except by a special act of Congress.

Another reversal of Indian policy was foreshadowed in 1949 when the Hoover Commission, which had been appointed to study and simplify the structure of federal government, recommended that special administrative relationships with Indian tribes be ended. Supporters of this idea claimed that government protection of tribal interests was no longer needed and would only hamper Indian people who wished to become "full members" of white society. They pointed out that Indians continued to leave reservations because of better job opportunities in cities, and they argued that tribal associations would have little meaning to Indian people once the accumulated claims resulting from old injustices had finally been settled. These voices prevailed, and in 1953 Congress declared its intention to end federal supervision of Indian lands and people and to gradually "terminate" its trusteeship over tribal groups.

Many Indians saw in these policies a threat to their very existence as a people. Their arguments were strengthened by the economic disaster which overtook the first two major tribes to be terminated, and by the growing problems that faced city Indians in urban ghettoes. Since World War II, organization and joint cooperation among different groups of Indians had increased, and this was given a further push by nationwide concern over the new direction of government policy. Conferences were held, and a number of national Indian organizations came into existence. Among the most widely known of these are the National Congress of American Indians (1944) and the National Indian Youth Council (1961).

In the 1960s and 1970s the government has once again drawn back from the policy of termination. Assistance to Indian people which was formerly handled through the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been rechanneled through other agencies, such as the United States Public Health Service, the Public Housing Administration, and various state bodies. New programs have been started through the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Economic Development Administration, and efforts have been made to bring business and industry to reservation areas instead of moving Indian people to cities. Meanwhile, there has been a growing awareness among both white and Indian people of Indians as a present-day ethnic minority. This has been strengthened by Indian-sponsored cultural and educational programs and also through protest demonstrations carried out by a variety of groups, such as the American Indian Movement, organized in 1966.

In Canada the twentieth century, like the nineteenth, has seen a similar pattern with different timing. There the system of strict government paternalism that had been adopted in the 1870s remained largely unchanged until 1951. In that year a revised Indian Act was passed, giving Indian people somewhat greater influence over their own affairs.

During the later 1950s and 1960s the forces of urbanization and the rapid economic development of the Canadian north country brought increasing pressure upon Indian and Eskimo communities. Questions about boundaries, hunting and fishing, and other native rights and treaty provisions which had remained unsettled for generations suddenly became urgent. As native people pressed more and more strongly for recognition and implementation of their claims, the Canadian government announced a study and reconsideration of its entire Indian policy.

In 1969 Jean Chretien, the minister of Indian affairs and northern development, issued a statement of policy which brushed aside the question of unfulfilled treaty claims and proposed to shift responsibility

for administration of Indian affairs from the national to the provincial governments. It also proposed to give control of Indian lands and trust funds to Indians themselves and to launch a new program of government aid. The crucial point, however, was that the new policy would eliminate or disregard the treaties that place many Canadian Indian groups in a special legal and constitutional relationship to the national government.

The so-called "Chretien White Paper" has been compared to the policy of termination announced by the United States Congress in 1953. Although there are great technical and historical differences, the spirit of the two policies is similar. Both look toward eliminating the special status of Indians. As in the United States, Indian people in Canada saw this as a threat to their existence and the road to "cultural genocide." Their response was widespread protest and organization. The National Indian Brotherhood was created in 1969 to speak for the Indian groups (roughly half of those in Canada) who are covered by treaties, while other organizations represent the interests of Metis, non-treaty Indians, and Eskimos.

THE OJIBWE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

To tell in a few words how it has been with the Ojibwe people through these generations of change and tension and experimentation with new ways would be impossible. Only the outlines of the story can be given, and often these facts, figures, and dates will be the least important part. Like other native Americans, they have survived; and like other tribes they have developed their own distinctive patterns of compromise, adaptation, and endurance.

Ojibwe response to European culture began over three centuries ago when hunters first gathered furs and made journeys to distant trading centers. Hunting and trading, along with fishing, ricing, and other traditional occupations, continued to be their livelihood for many generations. But as the white men took more and more of the land, and fur-bearing animals became scarce, Ojibwe people faced poverty and even at times actual starvation. Their first successful accommodation to the commercial economy of the European had been thrust aside. Treaty payments for the land allowed many to continue for yet a few years longer making their homes in the woods and by the streams and moving as the seasons changed. But this was only a postponement of the need to adapt once again.

Throughout the nineteenth century the government blindly urged the Ojibwe and all other native Americans to become farmers. Although the Ojibwe people had raised gardens wherever the soil and climate allowed, little of their land was suitable for farming and most of them preferred occupations in which they could use the skills they already had. The members of the Lake Superior bands had always been expert boatmen and fishermen, and as shipping and commercial fishing began to expand in the upper Great Lakes, many of them found employment in these industries.

Lumbering also offered a variety of jobs to a people whose way of life had been based on woodcraft. Many Ojibwe became log drivers, guiding the masses of pine logs that were floated down the flooded rivers each spring to sawmills. It was dangerous, exhausting work, but when it was over they could return home with enough money to live on for a while and time to spend with their families, to fish, and to hunt. The wood products industry of the Great Lakes area is still a major source of employment for Ojibwe people, both in the United States and Canada.

In the twentieth century, as the pressure of population in cities has grown and as leisure time and ease of traveling have increased, the lakes and streams of the Ojibwe country have attracted ever larger numbers of vacationers and tourists. Along with them have come new pressures and new adjustments for Indian people. More and more land has been set aside for parks and for national forests, while resorts and summer homes have begun to line the shores of lakes. Fishing and hunting had remained important to the livelihood of many Ojibwe as well as being treasured reminders of their traditions. As these became popular sources of sport and recreation for affluent white men and as public concern with conservation increased, state game regulations were tightened. These violated rights guaranteed to Indian people by treaty.

The recreational boom has brought with it some new economic opportunities. Tribal groups are now beginning to operate public campgrounds, resorts, and gift shops, while tourist demand for Indian art and handiwork has opened up a new market for the skills of Ojibwe craftsmen. Tourists also visit tribal celebrations and pow-wows, and Indian singers and dancers often furnish entertainment for local

gatherings and special events. But most of the money from tourists and vacationers still goes to white-owned businesses, many of which profit by exploiting the popularity of "Indian" customs and symbols. And despite the adaptations that Ojibwe people have made over the years, nearly half of those living on reservations are unemployed, while poverty, sickness, and lack of schooling are far greater among them than among their white neighbors.

For the Ojibwe, as for other native Americans, schooling in the language and ways of Europeans has always been accompanied by pressure to give up their own "primitive" beliefs and customs. French priests began their first missionary work among the Ojibwe of Sault Ste. Marie in 1668 and even before that they had made a number of converts to Christianity among the Nipissing band farther east. But as the years passed, these missionaries found that they had less success among the Ojibwe than with some other tribes. Although Christian teachings were tolerated, comparatively few people were converted, for the religious traditions of the Ojibwe, centered in the Midewiwin, were strong and active.

When Protestant missionaries began work with the Ojibwe in the 1820s they also found this to be true. Among those who were converted, however, were several who themselves became dedicated missionaries and spent their lives carrying the teachings of Christianity to many of the scattered and isolated bands of their own people. The best remembered of these men are George Copway (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh), Peter Jones (Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by), and John Johnson (En-me-gah-bowh). All are known by the English names they adopted, for Christian churches would not admit Indian people under their own "heathen" names.

In the 1830s and 1840s missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, made some contact with almost all of the Ojibwe communities in the United States and most of those in Canada. They studied the Ojibwe language and gave it a written form — representing its many complex sounds as best they could by letters from the European (Roman) alphabet. They also began formal schooling with small classes in which a few Ojibwe children and adults were taught to speak English or to read the Christian Bible in their own language.

The tribe was deeply divided over how useful or desirable such schooling might be and over the question of how much European culture it was necessary to learn in order to survive. The majority — at least among the leaders — seem to have decided that some schooling would be essential for their people to live under changing conditions and to resist exploitation by white men. Most of the treaties they signed called for the government to provide teachers, schools, or training of some sort. In trying to fulfill these agreements, government officials in both the United States and Canada found it natural and easy to turn to the missionaries and churches that had already made contact with Indian people. So for many years the only schools in Indian communities and on reservations were run by religious groups.

This picture changed somewhat in the United States with the growth of the government boarding school system under the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the late 1800s. Reservation day schools were also opened in the early 1900s, and by 1934, when the federal government began to contract with states and through them with local school districts to provide education for Indians, boarding schools had been nearly phased out. In Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan many Ojibwe children already attended public schools.

Up to the present time, however, Indian people have had little influence with local school boards and little to say about how their schools were run and what their children were taught. Many have still felt that education was destructive to Indian culture and that encouraging their children to continue in school would only lead them in time to leave the Indian community. Others — including many tribal leaders — have argued that education is a vital tool needed by Indian communities to overcome their problems of poverty and to gain greater control of their own affairs.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 provided for the incorporation of tribal governments which, subject to some special federal regulations, have roughly the same powers as a state or city government. They may hold elections, pass ordinances, hire attorneys, own and conduct business enterprises, and enter into contracts with other governmental agencies.

Two years after passage of this act, the Ojibwe from White Earth, Leech Lake, Nett Lake, Grand Portage, Fond du Lac, and Mille Lacs incorporated as the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. The people living on these reservations had been classed as a single group since 1889 when the Nelson Act was passed. Because of both government removals and voluntary migration, the original bands had become greatly mixed, especially on the White Earth and Leech Lake reservations. Moreover, their tribal lands, trust funds, and government services had been pooled for nearly fifty years. Organizing as a single unit was therefore a logical

step. Though all are under the same tribal council, each reservation has its own business committee to handle local affairs.

The Red Lake band, however, which had been legally separated from the rest in 1904 and had formed its own tribal government in 1918, preferred to remain independent. The Reorganization Act allowed tribes which already had organized governments to come under its provisions without changing their existing constitutions, and this is what the Red Lake group chose to do, for in the words of one of their leading spokesmen, the law was "just what the Red Lake Indians need." They retained their original constitution until 1958, when it was revised to give more power to the voters of the band and restrict the authority of the hereditary council members.

Ojibwe in Michigan formed three tribal groups. The Sault Ste. Marie band organized separately as the Bay Mills Indian Community, while the L'Anse, Lac Vieux Desert, and Ontonagon bands united as the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community, and the Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River bands in Lower Michigan incorporated under the name Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe.

In Wisconsin the existing Ojibwe reservations — Red Cliff, Bad River, Lac Court Oreilles, and Lac du Flambeau — each organized separately. At about the same time two new reservations were formed in Wisconsin. One was for the Sakaogon or Mole Lake band. This group adopted a tribal constitution in 1937 under the name Sakaogon Chippewa Community, and in 1939 they were granted a small piece of land on the shores of Rice Lake in Forest County. A year earlier scattered parcels of land in the St. Croix Valley had been purchased and a reservation created for the St. Croix band, whose members had lived for nearly a century as squatters on unwanted tracts of woodland and on a small plot owned privately by Indian people near Cumberland. This group organized in 1942 as the St. Croix Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin. After the tragic experience of the Menominee tribe, which was terminated in 1961, the remaining Indian groups in Wisconsin formed the Great Lakes Intertribal Council in hope of cooperating more closely and exerting greater influence on the state and federal governments.

The two western bands of Ojibwe also incorporated separately. Those in Montana organized as the Chippewa Cree Tribe of the Rocky Boy Reservation, and in North Dakota the Little Shell band became the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Tribe.

The hope that these tribal corporations would be able to create thriving, self-sufficient Indian communities has been largely disappointed. Although some land was restored or added to reservations under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act, the tracts controlled by tribal councils are still too poor or too scattered to allow effective management and economic development. Even on the Red Lake reservation, where nearly all the land is Indian owned and subject to tribal control, legal restrictions on the land itself and lack of capital have proved to be great handicaps, and unemployment remains a problem.

Nevertheless, tribal enterprises have added a new dimension to economic life on many Ojibwe reservations. Whether it is a public campground at Red Cliff, a fishing cooperative at Grand Portage, a commercial rice paddy or a "mini-mart" at Leech Lake, or an electronics components plant at Mille Lacs — these Indian-owned, tribally managed businesses employ Indian people on their own terms and keep alive the hope of economic independence.

The Indian Claims Commission was created in 1946. In setting up the commission, Congress specified that all Indian claims should be filed within five years and all cases decided within ten, when the commission would cease to exist. In 1972, twenty-six years later, the commission had made decisions in just over half the cases before it, and Congress had already extended its life three times.

A typical case before the commission is based on the claim that a tribe or group of Indians was not paid a just price for its land. In settling such a case, four basic questions must be answered:

1.) What particular nations or bands of Indian people had the right to sell the land in the first place? (Title)
2.) What was the land really worth at the time of sale? (Valuation)
3.) How much has the government already paid — not only under the original treaty but by giving assistance in later years? (Offsets)
4.) If a claim is allowed, how and to whom should it now be paid? (Disposition).

Since most of the claims are over a hundred years old, the possibility of paying accrued interest on the awards was denied from the first.

Ojibwe people have filed a total of sixty claims. Many of these overlap, representing the separate claims of different groups to share

in payment for the same land. A few of them have been filed by mixed tribal groups like Chippewa-Cree, Ottawa-Chippewa, and the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. By 1972 nineteen of the sixty Ojibwe claims had been dismissed; awards had been made in ten; title had been fixed in nine cases, all of which were still being tried on the questions of valuation or offsets; and in twenty-two cases no decisions had yet been reached.

The impression that claims payments mean a large windfall of money for individual Indian people is mistaken. A tenth of all the money awarded goes to cover legal costs. When an award has been made, the tribe must decide whether to keep it in a common fund and use it for community purposes or distribute it to the thousands of heirs of those people who participated in the treaty. If the former is done, only those living on the reservation will benefit directly; in the latter case the money distributed will usually be a very small amount per person. Meanwhile, the seemingly endless delays lead Indian people to make jokes about their grandchildren dividing the payment when it is finally received.

The government's policy of termination did not directly affect any Ojibwe tribal groups, but the number of people leaving reservations to take jobs in distant cities has increased. There they sometimes find that the invisible web of the Indian community still reaches them. Many find a friendly welcome and a temporary place to stay with other members of their tribe or band. Hospitality is one of the traditions that has not died, and Indian people can always find a corner to sleep and a place at the table for one more relative or neighbor.

In cities where there are many Indian people, community centers have often been established where problems are shared and help is given in finding jobs, housing, medical care, and other services. Organizations have also been formed to defend the rights of Indians as an urban minority. These are usually intertribal, for an Ojibwe living in Minneapolis, Winnipeg, or Milwaukee faces the same difficulties of discrimination and adjustment to city life as a Dakota, a Cree, or a Menominee. Few white people know or care that there are any differences among them.

But although cooperation has been achieved, tribal groups still treasure and preserve the distinctive features of their own cultures. The Ojibwe, like others, find it hard to keep up from a distance the community ties that give meaning to their lives as Indians. And in order to do so they sometimes commute great distances to their homes on weekends or quit their city jobs from time to time and return for a while to the reservation. So they sacrifice paychecks and promotion in the white man's world to being Anishinabe. And in the cities and on the reservations they endure.

In the words of one Ojibwe person:

"It is hard to be an Indian during these times and to bring together our yesterday with what we are today. There is pain of memory which cuts through the quick of our lives and makes it difficult to love. We are still Indian in spite of a thousand treaties and missionaries with their black frocks. There is nothing and no one who will keep us from our ways and our songs. We have endured and will yet endure.

"They say we are poor here living on the reservation; the Government says this, and the BIA — even the tourists. Yes, many are poor and live in no good houses. In the winter when it gets thirty, forty below, you can throw a cat through their tarpaper walls. And there is not much work, and the little there is is unsteady. And this is what the Government means about being poor. But to describe an Indian's poverty is not really to describe the Indian people themselves. Too often this is taken for the other. This is a mistake. And what good is a description of poverty anyway when nothing is done about it? We know now the Government has no medicine to cure the Indian's poverty. We will be poor also again next year.

"Yet we will endure. We will endure because we are Indian. And being Indian is not simply living in the forest, or mountains or plains, or skin, features, or beads, or sense of history, or language or song: it is living in peace within the great cycles of nature which the Great Spirit has bestowed upon his children, and it is living within the tribal fold. What some others may call 'community'. And it is good! It is good to live within the Tribe here on this reservation in these lands of our fathers. And so it has been from the most ancient of times."*

*Don Bibeau, "We Will Endure," *Event*, June, 1971, pp. 13-14.

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